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EDITORIAL

Bernese Anabaptism in the eighteenth century had a baptism of fire in some respects even more severe than that of the 16th century. Added to the direct persecution was the attempt of the Bernese government to get rid of its most difficult religious problem by forcible deportation of the entire group. This is the century then too of emigration, an emigration possible because there were more tolerant lands than Bern, whether the Catholic Bishopric of neighboring Basel, Lutheran-Reformed Palatinate down the Rhine, or the still more tolerant Calvinist Holland. We behold also the astonishing spectacle of Calvinist Holland using heavy diplomatic pressure on Reformed Bern to relax its relentless persecution of the Mennonites there because of the significant political and economic weight of the Mennonites in 18th century Holland. It is the century too when Bernese Mennonites came to Pennsylvania, together with Zurich and other Mennonites, to found the greatest of all Swiss Mennonite settlements, that of the United States (then only colonial Pennsylvania). With painstaking, well-documented detail Delbert Gratz unfolds the story. Here for the first time we have the full immediate Swiss background of the Swiss-South German North American Mennonite settlements, half coming in this issue, the rest in the final installment of April, 1952.

As a further contribution to the growing literature on the theology of the Anabaptists the Review is happy to present in this issue the very excellent interpretative study of Peter Riedemann's *Rechenschaft,* the great Hutterite confessional statement of 1540, the doctoral dissertation of a young Austrian scholar, Dr. Franz Heimann, alas probably one of the losses of World War II. With the helpful editing of Robert Friedmann we have a most satisfying and convincing study. The *Rechenschaft,* as Heimann demonstrates, is a highly original work, only remotely dependent upon Hubmaier, simply but powerfully written, thoroughly Biblical, not theological yet profoundly theological, completely devoid of fanaticism. As it stands, it is a complete refutation of the erroneous interpretations of the Anabaptist teaching and spirit which have circulated so widely in the past. The first half of the book deals with the basic articles of faith, such as faith, grace, repentance, redemption, the church, etc., while the latter part deals with the social and economic principles and practices of the Hutterite Brotherhood. The union of these two basic elements, the theological and the practical, in one "confession" is itself eloquent of the type of Christionity which Peter Riedemann and his brethren espoused and lived. We present the first half of the dissertation in this issue, the second to follow in April, 1952.

The valuable annual statistical survey of attendance at Mennonite secondary schools and colleges is presented again in its usual comprehensive form by Silas Hertzler. For the year 1949-50 for the first time Mennonite Schools of Nursing are added. In spite of this increase in the number of institutions reported the total over-all attendance is less than before, though not as much as might have been expected. The greater decline is recorded however in the colleges, not in the secondary schools.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review has now completed twenty-five years of publication (1927-51) in addition to the two years of the preceding *Goshen College Record Review Supplement.* The exhaustive *Cumulative Index* prepared by Nelson Springer and presented in this issue, will both make fully usable the vast amount of historical, sociological and theological matter which have filled the pages of the Review throughout the past quarter century, and also serve as an index to the character of the journal as no descriptive summary could do. The new index not only adds additional years to the contents of the earlier index of 1943 prepared by the same author, but is greatly improved in that the topical indexing is much more comprehensive in categories and more carefully and thoroughly carried through. Furthermore, it now appears in the standard pattern for such indexes in one alphabet instead of four as previously. Reprints of the index will be available on order.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

VOLUME XXVI JANUARY 1952 NUMBER ONE

BERNESE ANABAPTISM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, I

DELBERT GRATZ

INTRODUCTION

The story of eighteenth-century Bernese Anabaptism is one of further persecution and migration. Early in the century a systematic deportation took place. At the turn of the century a special commission was set up by the Bernese government to take care of all Anabaptist matters. By the middle of the century this was done away with and certain toleration was shown to the few remaining in Bernese territory. The deportation took many to the Palatinate and Holland. But more migrated to the Bishopric of Basel where a greater degree of toleration was shown them. The story of their life and struggle for existence in the Jura is one of the noblest in all of Anabaptist history. Toward the end of the century the French Revolution came to Switzerland, breaking down all of the old institutions and supposedly giving freedom to all who did not have it before. By 1798 the Bernese Anabaptists were given constitutional freedom and recognition but in actual practice this was not fully realized until half a century later.

PERSECUTION

In 1699 the Anabaptist Commission (*Täuferkammer*) replaced the Commission for Anabaptist Matters (*Kommittierte*

zum Täufergeschäft) which had been in existence since 1659. This was composed of five secular members whose chief task was to look after the confiscated estates of the Anabaptists. They also had supervision over the administration of mandates and orders issued by the Bernese government concerning the Anabaptists. It was for them to say who was to be banished, who might be released, and the length of prison sentence that each Anabaptist might receive. This commission lasted until December 4, 1743, when it was disbanded.[1]

This revised Anabaptist Commission ordered an Anabaptist hunt (*Täuferjagd*) in 1702 in the Emmental. The efforts of the hunters were frustrated when the majority of the populace aided the Anabaptists to escape through various signals, as blowing horns, shooting, calling, and the like. In Sumiswald on April 24, 1714, between sixty and seventy Anabaptists were released from prison through mob action of the sympathetic residents. For this the commune had to pay a fine of 100 Taler ($2,000). But this was not the only time that misfortune befell the Anabaptist hunters. In 1726 they chased three Anabaptist women across the border into Lucerne territory but instead of stopping at the state boundary they continued the chase and caught them. This led to a long legal battle between Lucerne and Bern. It finally resulted that the Anabaptist hunters had to pay 100 Taler ($2,000) to the Lucerne government. Evidence shows that this money was reimbursed to them later by the Bernese government.[2] Even the district governors were not always in sympathy with the Anabaptist hunters. The Bernese government won little respect for the questionable procedure of hiring some of the worst rogues to hunt down a people whom the greater share of the populace considered good neighbors, or even at the worst, quite harmless and quite undeserving of treatment as criminals.[3]

Banishment came to the fore during the early part of the eighteenth century as the means of getting rid of the Anabaptists who remained. Though the original plan of taking them to America in 1710 failed, most of those who were forced to leave at this time did not return to Bern. The details of this forced migration will be discussed under a following topic.

During the same period that the Anabaptist hunters were the terror of the Anabaptists a number of orders and mandates were

[1] Ernst Müller, *Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer* (Frauenfeld, 1895), 337.
[2] *Staatsarchiv Bern. Luzern Buch* J, 50-55.
[3] Christian Neff, "Bern," *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, I, 189.

issued against the Anabaptists who remained, ever making it more and more difficult for them to exist in Bernese territory. On September 30, 1711, shortly after the migration to Holland, the old mandates were again enforced and the punishment was to be greater for those who still remained. The last ones were to be brought to prison and put in chains until they recanted or agreed to accept the Reformed religion. On May 24, 1714, another mandate appeared in which it was admitted that despite the past migration and punishments there still existed Anabaptists in Bernese territory. They stated that forgiveness was always in order for those who recanted but able-bodied men who would return from banishment would be punished by being sold as galley slaves and the others were to be punished just as severely in other ways. But this mandate had few results. Soon after this another order went out that 100 Taler ($2,000) would be paid to any person who would capture an Anabaptist minister and 50 Taler ($1,000) would be paid to any person who would capture an Anabaptist deacon. For the seizure of a male member they paid 30 Kronen ($500) and for a female member 15 ($250).[4]

A list of books was made which were forbidden to be sold or found in one's possession. Among these was the Froschauer Bible first printed at Zürich in 1524-29 and reprinted often there and at Basel and in 1744 at Strassburg and greatly loved by the Anabaptists.

As in past centuries the children of Anabaptist parents were to be considered illegitimate as the parents were not married by the Reformed minister. As such they were not permitted to inherit their parents' estates. But in 1721 a slight amendment was made so that children of a father who was exiled were permitted to have his property, thus keeping them from becoming public charges.[5]

In 1715 a ruling was passed that the money derived from the selling of Anabaptist estates should be divided equally between the Anabaptist Commission, the Bernese Council, and the local supervisory officials. In 1729 this was changed so that the individual communes should receive this money to apply on their school and church costs. A special register was kept called the Anabaptist Record of Property *(Täufer Urbar)* in which these financial matters were kept.[6] Only through permission of the Anabaptist Council could any of this money be spent. Through this record one can

[4] *Mandatenbuch. Schloss Trachselwald.* August 20 and September 9, 1718.
[5] *Mandatenbuch des Schlosses Sumiswald,* May 17, 1722.
[6] *Taufer Urban.* See page 267, *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XXV:4. Staatsarchiv. Bern. B III, 196.

get a good view of the very limited economic conditions of the Anabaptists of that period. The list of confiscated goods together with its value is given. One can also ascertain their geographical location in the early eighteenth century from this record.

By 1720 there seemed to be a lessening in the severe policy carried on in the first two decades of the century. In that year a law was created whereby an Anabaptist was permitted to take his property with him when migrating if he would take an oath never to return. A short time later others were permitted to return under special restrictions. At the same time some Anabaptists were condemned to life imprisonment. In 1729 the Anabaptist Commission renewed and expanded a law of 1695 which forbade the Anabaptists to bury their dead in regular cemeteries. Many were buried on their own farms or some very out-of-the-way place.[7]

On December 4, 1743, the Anabaptist Commission was disbanded and with it came an end to the severe persecution of the previous two centuries. At the same time the Anabaptist hunters vanished from the picture. But the Anabaptist's legal position in the Bernese state was quite indefinite. It remained so for the next one hundred years. The first conflict to arise was the matter of military service. It was decided in 1737 that the Anabaptists refusing military service should be sent to work in the silver mines. But this was never enforced. In 1745 it was ordered that those who failed to appear at the army call should be fined from twenty to thirty Talers ($300 to $450). In 1780 they were threatened with banishment, but shortly after, it was ordered that each person refusing military service must clothe and arm a young poor soldier. But this also was not enforced. A plan in 1786 to compel each Anabaptist liable to military service to work a month per year at helping the poor to do their harvest also never worked out.[8]

By the 1760's some of the communal governments were willing to give certificates of citizenship *(Heimatschein)* to Anabaptist families requesting them. Others were refused at this time but by 1790 it was the general practice of the communes to recognize a person of Anabaptist descent or faith as a citizen of the community from which his family originally came. Especially during the turbulent times of the French Revolution period did those living in French territory make special efforts to obtain certificates of citizenship in order to prove their Bernese citizenship rights.[9]

[7] (Samuel Geiser, ed.) *Die Taufgesinnten-Gemeinden* (Karlsruhe, 1931), 416, 417.
[8] Müller, *op. cit.*, 360-363.
[9] For an explanation of the Heimatrecht and Heimatschein see article in Apr. 1952 *M.Q.R.*

The formal recognition and toleration given to the Anabaptists in 1798 by the constitution of the French puppet state, the (Swiss) Helvetian Republic, will be discussed in the chapter on the nineteenth century as it ties in more closely with the whole chain of events which follow during that century.

Migrations in the Eighteenth Century

The Thwarted Deportation of 1710

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Bernese government was in a quandary as to what action to take regarding the Anabaptists. The mandates and laws had removed many but because of their rapid growth it seemed as though the government was making no headway. Because of a famine many who had been deported to Alsace returned at this time. So it was the problem of the Bernese government to get rid of the remaining numbers in a manner so as not to bring down the disdain of the Bernese subjects and also to avoid severe criticism from foreign governments such as had been the case with Holland.

On May 17, 1699, the first serious action was taken toward the deportation of the Bernese Anabaptists. The government of Bern wrote a letter to the Dutch East India Company in Amsterdam asking whether it would be possible to make arrangements to ship all the Bernese Anabaptists to an island in the East Indies. The hope was to send them to some remote place in order to make it impossible for them to return as they had always done before when banished to neighboring lands. It does not appear that this letter was answered.[10]

Again there appeared a move to deport the Bernese Anabaptists from Europe in 1710. At this time the prisons in Bern were full of them and a solution was urgently sought. This year might be considered the time of the climax of the persecution during the eighteenth century. Existing correspondence from this period verifies this fact. An Anabaptist from Mannheim secretly visited the prisoners and wrote a long letter describing their conditions.[11] The Netherlands consul in Bern wrote of the conditions to a person in Holland about the same time.[12] In 1709 a contract was made by the Bernese government with a man named Ritter to transport a number of poor folks and Anabaptists to America. For each

10 *Missivenbücher,* May 17, 1699.
11 Müller, *op. cit.,* 255-257. Copy of letter.
12 *Ibid.,* 257, 258. Copy of letter.

Anabaptist that he actually transported to America he was to receive 45 Taler ($900) which was to be taken from the estates of the Anabaptists who were leaving. Ritter was to accompany them to Carolina. Any who would return were to be punished with the death penalty. It is stated in the Council Manual *(Ratsmanual)* that the Anabaptists were desired by the King of England to populate his American domain. Permission from Great Britain was easily obtained, and all was made ready for the journey on March 18, 1710. But in the last hour the French Ambassador and also the Prussian representative demanded that proper transit visas be obtained for them to sail down the Rhine to Holland. The government of Basel was asked to furnish an enclosed place near the Rhine where they might keep the Anabaptists during their changing of boats. But not until shortly before they left did they think to seek permission from the Dutch government to permit them not only to transit the Netherlands but also to grant a place there to keep them during the time they would wait on a boat for America so that they would have no chance of escaping. But the Dutch government was not inclined to aid in this deportation of persons whom they considered to be of good character. They answered the request saying that as soon as they set foot on Dutch soil the Anabaptists would be free and permitted to do what they pleased. Further, they answered that never would the Dutch government lift their hand to hurt them.[13]

Under military escort fifty-six Anabaptists were actually put on board ship at Bern on March 18. One person died in prison before leaving and another escaped in Basel. Thirty-two persons were left go at Mannheim on March 28 as they were old, feeble, or sick. The remaining twenty-two arrived at Nijmegen, Holland, on April 6. Through the efforts of government officials and pressure from the Dutch Mennonites they were released on April 9. They were very happy when they were received by their brethren in Nijmegen led by the minister, Heinrich Laurens. They were in great need of relief as most of them had served long terms in Bernese prisons where food was very meager. Added to this was a very difficult eighteen-day journey on the water. As they had lived for a year or two on just bread and water they were not able to eat meat or other solid foods. The Amsterdam church gave sums of money to help them on their way. They were not satisfied to stay long to recuperate but were anxious to return to the Palatinate where most

[13] Müller, *op. cit.*, 252-267.

of them had their families. Three of them went to Amsterdam to report the entire situation to the Mennonite Commission there. These were Benedicht Brechbühl, a minister and elder from Trachselwald, Hans Bürki, a deacon from Langnau, and Melchior Zahler, a deacon from Frutigen. The reports of their own experiences have been preserved and give a very good picture of the persecution of the Bernese Anabaptists in the early part of the eighteenth century. The Dutch government in Amsterdam also questioned these men especially as to why the Anabaptists continued to be persecuted in Bern. Their three points of difference with the Bernese government were: first, they deny that the government is ordained of God; second, they will not take an oath; and third, they refuse to bear arms for their country. Instead of bearing arms they said they would do work on fortifications during wartime. The Dutch government again sent a plea to the Bernese council for more tolerance in their dealings with the Anabaptists. They asked them to permit the Anabaptists enough time to sell their land and leave the country with their possessions. About the same time the Dutch Mennonites sent a request to the Swiss consul which included: (1) Permission for the wives and children to accompany the men who were to be sent to America. (2) Permission for those now imprisoned to migrate. (3) Cessation of further hunting of Anabaptists.[14]

After leaving Nijmegen they went to Cleve where they contacted their Mennonite brethren. There, too, the sentiments and sympathy for them were great. Isak Vranken, the minister at Cleve, and the deacons arranged to aid them with food, clothing, and money. They stayed several days and on Sunday their ministers were asked to preach in the Cleve church. Although they were not understood it is said that they made a deep impression on the brethren at Cleve. Vranken wrote to the Committee at Amsterdam that he found these people very well versed in the Scriptures and very humble and without all hypocrisy.[15]

Most of the Swiss exiles returned to the Palatinate but some braved the dangers of severe punishment and returned to their homes in Bern. So ended the story of the deportation that miscarried. Mr. Ritter who was promised 45 Taler ($900) for each Anabaptist whom he deported to America was left without money and friends for the failure of his efforts. The boatman was given 130 Taler ($2,600) by the Bernese consul at the Hague to aid him

[14] Geiser, *op. cit.*, 429-434.
[15] Müller, *op. cit.*, 276.

in getting back to Switzerland. Although the project failed in taking the Anabaptists to America it did succeed in that most of them never returned to further plague the Bernese government.

Migration to the Netherlands in 1711

Negotiations continued between Holland and Bern over the problem of the Bernese Anabaptists. The main characters in these discussions were Francois Louis Pesme, the Lord of St. Saphorin, the Bernese envoy in Amsterdam and the Dutch consul in Bern named Runckel. At Bern Runckel pleaded with the Council to be tolerant toward the Anabaptists but if this was not possible, at least permit them to have a respite for several years during which time they could sell their estates and be permitted to leave the land with their possessions.

By July, 1710, all parties were agreed that the only solution was emigration. But the question now was—where? The Princess of Nassau and the Count of Wied asked for some who were artisans or craftsmen, but nearly all of them were farmers. The Prussian King Wilhelm I wanted to take all of them with open arms. Runckel suggested that they be settled in two swamp areas within Bernese territory, but Brechbühl, who seemed to be the leader and main contact man of the Bernese Anabaptists, considered this plan impossible to carry through. The opinion seemed to be more and more that the Netherlands was the place for them to go. Henceforth the Dutch Mennonites worked with great zeal to aid them to come to the Netherlands and once there they could choose where they eventually wanted to settle. First, they collected a sum of 50,000 gulden ($500,000) for this purpose. They also wrote a letter to their imprisoned brethren in Bern; at the time there were fifty-two. Runckel reported on October 1, 1710, that conditions had greatly improved for the imprisoned. They were permitted to have a Bible and a few other books, there was enough to eat, but sleeping conditions remained very poor.[16]

By December 10 the number of imprisoned Anabaptist men and women was 295. At this time Runckel made a plea to the Bernese government which included: (1) Freedom to choose whether they wanted to migrate to Holland or Prussia. (2) A general amnesty so that all the Anabaptists could come out in the open and sell their goods before leaving. (3) Appointment of someone to care for their possessions which they would not be able to sell be-

[16] Müller, *op. cit.*, 295.

fore leaving. (4) Freedom for all those who were at present in prison. (5) Permission for those married to members of the Reformed church to take their non-Anabaptist marriage partners and children with them. (6) Exemption from the ordinary tax that was collected from all who emigrated.[17]

With much work on the part of Runckel and backed by the Dutch Mennonites, a pardon was finally granted the imprisoned Anabaptists in Bern on February 11, 1711. In the amnesty order it was admitted in the first sentence that all attempted methods to extinguish the Anabaptists from Bern had failed, and that contrary to hopes they had gained in numbers. Reformed children and marriage partners of Anabaptists were given the privilege to leave as the others with their goods but had at the same time to forfeit their claim to Bernese citizenship. They would be permitted to go to Holland and then to Prussia, but they would not be allowed to go to Neuchâtel, then a Prussian possession. But Anabaptist meetings were still strictly forbidden as was also the return of any person who would leave at this time. Each prisoner that was to be released must pay 25 Reichstaler ($500) for the expense of keeping him in prison. This was not allowed to be paid for by the Dutch Mennonites. If the family was not steadfastly Anabaptist they must pay the regular 10 per cent departure tax that all Bernese emigrants paid at that time. If any property was taken out without permission severe punishment was to be given.[18]

The direction of the transport was given by the Dutch Mennonites to Ritter, the man who directed the migration as far as Nijmegen the year before. He was to receive five good boats that would transport 500 persons. The transportation was to cost the Anabaptists 3,215 Reichstaler ($270,000). Duty free passage was arranged before time with the officials at Basel, Trier, Köln, Hessen-Kassel, and Prussia.[19]

But many of the Anabaptists did not want to leave. The followers of Hans Reist and Jakob Amman did not want to travel together. Hans Gerber, who did not want to leave, was sentenced as a slave to the Venetian galleys.[20]

The day of leaving was set for July 13, 1711. The destination was Amsterdam. Runckel, in connection with Daniel Richen, an Anabaptist who was very helpful in this project, and Ritter, had

[17] *Ibid.*, 294.
[18] *Ibid.*, 299.
[19] *Ibid.*, 301.
[20] *Ibid.*, 300.

many problems through which they led the group. The worth of the estates the Anabaptists left behind was valued at 600,000 pounds ($3,000,000). 28,500 gulden ($290,000) were given to the Mennonites in Holland as proceeds from the sales by the Anabaptist commission. 14,000 gulden ($570,000) the Anabaptists took with them. Runckel had some 18,135 gulden ($750,000) for the aid of the Bernese Anabaptists.[21]

As the number did not come up to the expected 500, other passengers were taken along. The embarkation actually took place on July 13 as planned both at Neuchâtel and at Bern. At Wangen the ships met. Here one Anabaptist escaped, contrary to his oath. On July 16 the ships arrived at Basel where roofs were put on the ships and supplies replenished. Hans Bürki and Samuel Reber joined the group here. They had been sentenced to life imprisonment for returning to Bern after they had promised not to do so, but at the last moment they were released to sail with the rest. They did not want to go but through the aid of the Basel government were put in chains and in this manner taken to Holland. As the group filled only four ships the fifth one was left behind at Basel to be used later for a similar purpose, which was never necessary. Four of the Anabaptists who had been in prison took the opportunity to leave at Basel. After a stay of three days in Basel the four boats set sail down the Rhine. It was not easy for the exiles to see the last view of the Jura Mountains pass into the distance. A sadness came over them which was not taken away by the thoughts of entering a land where the freedom of worship would be guaranteed. Despite the cruelness of the government few of them really wanted to leave. Already at Breisach Hans Bürki and twelve others took the opportunity to leave the boats and found their way to coreligionists in Alsace near by. Later some of these found their way back to their beloved valleys of Bern. At Mannheim Samuel Reber with some thirty others left the ships to be with their brethren in the Palatinate. The boats passed Mainz, Koblenz, Köln, Düsseldorf, and Wesel in their journey down the Rhine without difficulty. At Emmerich they were met by Abraham Fortgens who brought them a greeting of welcome from their Holland brethren. They sailed past the Dutch border and also the city of Utrecht. On August 3, 1711, they docked at Muiden where they were met and greeted by a number of men from Amsterdam and that same evening some of them arrived at Amsterdam. The number of Bernese

[21] *Ibid.*

Anabaptists that arrived was 340 children, between 80 and 90 men, and from 90 to 100 women. They were quartered in a large room in a warehouse on the Zandhoek. During their last days' stay in Amsterdam they were moved to a barracks where there were beds, blankets, and necessary equipment to prepare meals. The sick and weak received special care here. In every respect they received a very hospitable welcome. So large was the welcome of the people of Amsterdam that great numbers of the citizens went to the barracks to see them. So many went, in fact, that the entrance was controlled by traffic police. Collection boxes set up at the entrance were filled with 1,045 gulden ($43,000) in gifts from friends that came. For fourteen days the Bernese Anabaptists were guests of their Amsterdam brethren. The Dutch Mennonite relief committee who sponsored this overwhelming welcome was composed of the following: Willem van Maurik, Hermanus Schijn, Jan Willink, Abraham Jacobs Fries, Job Sieuwerts, Jacob Vorsterman, Jan Honnoré, and Cornelis Beets.[22]

It is interesting to note that the majority of the Bernese Anabaptists who arrived at Amsterdam were of the Amish faction while the greater share of those who left at various points during the journey were of the Reist group.[23] Reasons for this are not given. Possibly the Amish group had fewer close relatives in the Palatinate as they were of the Oberland congregations, few of whom had migrated before. Then, too, it could be that they were more conscientious in keeping their promise given to the Bernese authorities to go to Amsterdam.

The question now arose as to where a definite home could be found. Representatives of the Bernese brethren who had gone to Prussia in search of a new home for the group upon the invitation of King Frederick I had as yet not returned. The leaders of the new Swiss immigrants spoke against Prussian colonization. After much deliberation twenty families of about 100 persons went to Groningen to settle. The remainder were taken to Deventer and Kampen where they were to remain at least until the following May. On August 20 the boats took them to their destinations. Twenty-one went to Harlingen, 126 to Groningen, 87 to Kampen, 116 to Deventer. This made a total of 350. At Groningen they were greeted by the ministers and members of the Old Flemish church of Mennonites and the combined Flemish and Waterlander Mennonite

[22] *Ibid.*, 300-306.
[23] *Ibid.*, 307.

churches. The conditions here were very fortunate for the immigrants as prices for land were very low because of a crop failure which took place in 1709. Farm workers, too, were in great demand. Besides Groningen they also settled in the near-by villages of Sappemeer and Hoogkerk. In the year 1721 the Groningen church wrote to the Amsterdam Committee that no more of the Bernese needed to be given aid. Some of these later migrated to Pennsylvania.

The committee which had been sent to Prussia, of which Benedicht Brechbühl was a member, sent a letter from Danzig on August 12, 1711, to Amsterdam. They gave a picture of the conditions in Lithuania, the fruitfulness of the land, the good terms which the king offered, the great kindness afforded them by their brethren in Danzig and Elbing. The architecture of the houses did not appeal to them but the king promised them the needed wood from the state forests to build their own type of buildings. There were 62 estates of about 30 morgen (63 acres) each, of productive land, to be had for 25 to 30 Reichstaler ($500 to $600) each. The return trip and a visit with the king in Berlin brought them to Amsterdam on September 8. They reported their good findings to their Bernese brethren in Holland but found none deeply interested. The opinion was that now they wanted to settle down and earn their own living so as to make no further expense to their Dutch brethren. Brechbühl favored strongly the Prussian colonization and during the years that followed several Bernese Anabaptist churches were established there. In 1720 and especially in 1730 these churches were in great need and most of them moved to Germany, Netherlands, or North America.[24]

Each year immediately following the 1711 migration a few families from Bern joined their brethren in Holland. The persecution did not let up. The year 1714 was an especially difficult one. During this year sixteen Anabaptist families left Gontenschwil near Lenzburg for Holland. They settled near Groningen.[25]

At Groningen and Sappemeer the Bernese Anabaptists formed churches of their own. As early as 1671 Swiss Anabaptists from the Palatinate had settled near Groningen and were locally known as the *"Pfälzer."* Those who came in 1711 inherited this name, joining the earlier settlers in one congregation. But soon differences arose, among which was the complaint by a minister concerning

[24] *Ibid.*, 319-328.
[25] *Ibid.*, 322.

the fancy style of another minister's house. So they divided in 1720, forming two congregations known as the "new Swiss" and the "old Swiss." Each had about fifty members at Groningen, but the division also extended to Sappemeer. During the last quarter of the century the two groups reunited. At about the same time German was discontinued as the language for their services. In 1815 when the native Dutch Mennonite divisions called the Waterlanders and the Old Flemish joined and built a new church building, the Swiss started using the old building for their services. In 1824 the history of a separate Swiss Anabaptist church came to a close when they joined the Dutch Mennonites in Groningen. But the Bernese names remain among the families of the congregation up to the present time. Some of them are: Leutscher (Lörtscher), Hofmann, Rubin, Richen, Gerber, Meihuizen (Peter from Maihausen), Boer (Bauer). The history of the Sappemeer church was parallel with that of Groningen.[26]

At Kampen a man named Cramer looked after the settlement of the Bernese Anabaptists. By November, 1711, he had bought ten large estates and eight small ones and rented land to go with them. Here most of the families settled. The rest settled in town. By 1717 a report of very prosperous conditions was given. This group held its meetings in the houses until the latter part of the century when they bought a building in Kampen. In 1822 they joined with the local Mennonite church, thus ending their existence as a separate Swiss Anabaptist congregation. Kampen names denoting Swiss background are Gerber, Maurer, Krebs, Holzmann, Hübscher, and Thönen.[27]

Some 106 persons were brought to Deventer on August 10, 1711. It seems that this settlement did not prosper as did the others, for most of the settlers later moved to Groningen and Kampen to their brethren. Nothing is mentioned in the records concerning an organized Swiss church. Nor do any family names remain in the local Mennonite church at Deventer today which would denote a Bernese connection.[28]

Those few exiles who belonged to the Reist faction went to the vicinity of Harlingen but the following spring asked the Dutch Mennonite relief committee for money so that they could leave Friesland for the Palatinate. They were refused but through their own means left on November 13, 1713, for the Palatinate. When

[26] *Ibid.*, 322-328.
[27] *Ibid.*, 324, 325.
[28] Ibid., 325.

the Anabaptists suffered persecution in the Palatinate a few years later most of these fled to America. The reason for their discontent in Holland was that there were so few of the Reist people there and they found it impossible to fellowship with the Amish group. So they anxiously went to join their brethren at Mannheim and vicinity.[29]

The Bernese Anabaptists carried with them to Holland all their customs and rules of conduct. They held strictly to simplicity in all things, industry, and thrift. The men wore long beards, had straps on their shoes, and used only hooks and eyes on their clothing. They held strictly to the ordinance of shunning excommunicated members as taught by Jacob Amman. They did not go to excess in eating and drinking, nor did they use tobacco. But tolerance and freedom as they had here did not work to keep the church strict and highly disciplined. After the first generation of leaders passed on changes took place rapidly. By the end of the century their language gave way to the local Dutch and by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century the last differences were erased and they were a part of the Dutch Mennonite church. Only a few old patriarchs remained with their beards and peculiar cut of dress to remind the younger generation of deep convictions that had caused their own ancestors to choose leaving their homeland rather than compromise their faith.[30]

Prussia (Including Neuchâtel)

As early as 1526 there were Anabaptists in the city of Marienburg. In the latter part of the sixteenth century when persecution took place in Holland many Dutch Anabaptists moved to eastern Prussia. Menno Simons, the foremost of the Dutch Anabaptist elders, visited this area during the third and fourth decades of the sixteenth century and aided in founding congregations there.[31]

The first knowledge we have of connections that the Bernese Anabaptists had with Prussia was in 1710. Frederick I, the king of Prussia, tried to repopulate Lithuania with good subjects after it had been emptied of its populace through war and plagues. His envoys in The Hague and Hamburg reported to the king that they had heard of the plight of the Bernese Anabaptists through the local Mennonites who asked him to use his authority to ease their

[29] *Ibid.*, 325, 326.

[30] *Ibid.*, 327, 328.

[31] Brons, *Ursprung, Geschichte, und Schicksale der Altevangelischen Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten*, 3rd Ed. (Norden, 1912), 228.

situation. Immediately the king had his envoy in Bern, Bondeli, make an offer to the Bernese Anabaptists that he would take them all in his land and guarantee their religious freedom as well as release them from military duty. In the summer and fall of 1710 the Prussian government made the following terms to Bern for taking their Anabaptists: (1) The Anabaptists should have the freedom to emigrate with their possessions. (2) They should be brought to the border of Prussia at the expense of the Prussian government. (3) A deputation of Anabaptists should be named to examine carefully the possibilities of migration to Prussia.[32]

In November, 1710, Bern agreed to the following: (1) Anabaptists who moved to Prussia would have to pay a ten per cent tax of the estate that they would take along. They would automatically lose their right of citizenship. (2) For those not having possessions the government would see to it that they got as far as Frankfurt am Main. (3) They would not permit a deputation of Bernese Anabaptists to go to Prussia to make arrangements. They suggested that all preparations should be done through the Anabaptists in Holland and Hamburg. (4) The council added that they hoped suitable places could be found to please the Anabaptists so that they would not be tempted to return to their homeland.[33]

Through Dutch aid several Bernese Anabaptists, of which Benedicht Brechbühl was one, were able to go to Prussia to investigate. They went as far as Lithuania. In Berlin they conferred with Frederick I. They returned to Holland with a very good impression of the country and encouraged their brethren to move. For various reasons only a few persons actually ever went.[34]

In another connection Bern came in contact with the Prussian government concerning Anabaptist affairs. Neighboring Neuchâtel, although having a loose affiliation with the Swiss federation, was not a republic like Bern but rather a principality under the Prussian crown. Neuchâtel complained in 1734-1735 to Bern that because of persecution of non-Reformed elements such as the Anabaptists in Bern, members of these sects were infiltrating into Neuchâtel and endangering their church. Bern assured the government of Neuchâtel that they were anxious to co-operate in every possible way to help them get rid of the Anabaptists. During each persecution in Bern during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a few families found their way to neighboring Neuchâtel for refuge.

[32] *Stadtbibliothek Bern. Mss. Hist. Helv.* XI. 8. Schärer, *Allgemeine Völkergeschichte in Bezug auf die schweizerischen Aus- und Einwanderungen.*
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] See pages 15-16.

They settled in the Val de Ruz and in the neighborhood of La Chaux-de-Fonds and Le Locle. As in the Bishopric of Basel they became the pioneers of the area in agriculture and cattle breeding. Their good fortune aroused the jealousy of the natives so that an economic struggle arose similar to that in the Bishopric of Basel. Similar problems arose in the two places at the same time.[35]

Although the local Neuchâtel officials tried to get rid of the Anabaptists, the king of Prussia, their ruler, declared in 1734 that these people should be tolerated as their records were good and they lived as orderly citizens. He ordered that they should not be persecuted. But the local agitation against them went on and it was decided that all of them should leave at the beginning of 1736 from the district of Valangin. However, few families actually left.[36]

Through all these difficulties, the Neuchâtel settlements of Anabaptists carried on although they never prospered as greatly as was the case with those in the neighboring Bishopric of Basel. From the widely scattered farm homes they would gather on Sunday for services in a large room of a farm house. For a long time the central point was at the hamlet called Les Bressels near Le Locle. Not until 1896 was a meetinghouse erected for this congregation at Les Bulles near Chaux de Fonds. Although no large numbers ever migrated, this group also contributed to the migration of the nineteenth century to America. The congregation was from the eighteenth century on an adherent to the Amish wing. The names Stähli, Ramseyer, Ummel, Müller, and Glaus are found among this group.[37]

America

Of the various emigrations of Bernese Anabaptists during the eighteenth century, those going to America had as their goal the English colony of Pennsylvania which the Penns had some years before (1681) thrown open to immigrants, encouraging especially religious persecutees. The first family arrived in 1710, going directly to what is now Lancaster County.

In 1717 when the Palatinate Mennonites were very hard pressed by their rulers they turned their thoughts toward the colony of Pennsylvania where some of their brethren had gone as early as 1678. They asked the Dutch Mennonite relief committee for as-

[35] Maurice Dummont, *Les anabaptistes en pays neuchâtelois, passim.* Unpublished MS. Neuchatel, 1937).

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] *Ibid.* See also Samuel Geiser, "Neuenburg," *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, III, 208, 209.

sistance. 4,000 gulden ($40,000) was put at their disposal. The first migration left in the spring of 1717 from Rotterdam under the leadership of Benedicht Brechbühl. The migrations grew to such proportions that the Dutch could no longer afford to give aid to all. By 1732 it is estimated that some 3,000 persons from the Palatinate had passed through Rotterdam on their way to Pennsylvania. Some of these were Reformed and Lutheran church members seeking to better their conditions in a new land, but most of them were Mennonites.

The story of the migration of Bernese Anabaptists from the Palatinate to Pennsylvania has been discussed at some length in an earlier article so will not be mentioned again here.[38]

Others left for America direct from the Jura Mountains in the 1750's. The story of their adventures and difficult times is told in the section on the Bishopric of Basel.[39]

Only a few scattered families left direct from Bernese territory in the eighteenth century for America. These left from the Emmental. As there were only scattered families and not an organized migration the traces of these are very scant.[40]

(*To be concluded*)

[38] See *M.Q.R.*, XXV:4, 273-274.
[39] See *M.Q.R.*, XXV:4, 274-276.
[40] Müller, *op. cit.*, 365.

THE HUTTERITE DOCTRINES OF CHURCH AND COMMON LIFE, A STUDY OF PETER RIEDEMANN'S CONFESSION OF FAITH OF 1540[1]

FRANZ HEIMANN (Vienna)

I. *Origin of the Hutterite Brotherhood and Its Basic Principles*

The Anabaptist communities in Moravia originated in the decade between the Peasants' War (1524-25) and the Münsterite upheavals (1534-35). In general Anabaptism in South Germany kept completely aloof from the Peasants' Revolt as it was primarily intent upon the realization of its ideal of discipleship in small groups or brotherhoods. Such groups existed in loose connection with each other, representing islands in the turmoil brought about by the Reformation and its subsequent dissolution of traditional ways of life. The Anabaptists, being passive in all affairs of the surrounding political world, directed all their activities toward the sanctification of their personal life. To this end they created communities (*Gemeinschaften*) of reborn and freely dedicated Christians, with no particular social aims and programs in mind. In the center of their religious life stood the idea of an inner renewal of the entire person through an immediate and genuine relationship of man to God. It implied an inner commitment of the whole life, by minimizing, at the same time, all external rituals and cults. Very soon these brotherhoods found themselves in sharp opposition to the leaders of the Reformation, while they caught the imagination of the lower classes to a far greater extent than the Reformers were able to do. Their emphasis upon the genuine equality and freedom of all men naturally found a ready response with these groups of the population.

Characteristic of the Anabaptists was their nonresistant and

[1] Ph.D. dissertation, University of Vienna, Austria, 1927. The original manuscript, entitled *Lehre von der Kirche und Gemeinschaft in der Huterischen Taufergemeinde,* is deposited in the University Library, Vienna; its director was kind enough to allow a typewritten copy of it to be sent to Goshen College Iibrary.

The translation was done by Robert and Betty Friedmann, Kalamazoo, Mich. It should, however, be mentioned that the text needed certain editorial changes for this English publication. At places it was shortened, at other places a few clarifying words had to be added, without a substantial change, of course, in the text proper. All footnotes are by R. F.

All quotations from the *Rechenschaft* itself are taken from the recently published English edition of this work: *Account of our religion, doctrine and faith, given by Peter Rideman, of the Brothers whom men call Hutterians. I Peter 3:15.* Hodder & Stoughton, London, in conjunction with the Plough Publishing House (Bromdon, Bridgnorth, Salop, England), 1950, 283 p. The translation from the original book (in the British Mus.) was done by Kathleen E. Hasenberg, M.A.

suffering attitude toward the political powers. Though in opposition to the existing order, the Anabaptists were so much engrossed in their own religious aims, the establishment of communities of saints, that they were hardly touched by the radical anarchistic ideas of, say, Thomas Müntzer or like-minded movements. The spiritual separation from the "world" was supposed to be complete: the community of the saints was intended to be a closed religious world in itself, for which they asked but toleration from the political powers.

The first religious document representative of a great number of Anabaptist groups is the Schleitheim Confession of Faith, called *Brotherly Union of a Number of Children of God Concerning Seven Articles,* of February 24, 1527,[2] which may be regarded as the foundation of all later confessions and doctrinal teachings. It contains already the fundamentals concerning baptism (of dedicated believers), concerning the sanctity of the fellowship of the Lord's Supper, concerning the application of church discipline and the ban, concerning separation from the world and the rejection of all violence, that is, abstention from temporal authority, law, oath, capital punishment, and war. The social order as visualized by the Anabaptists was a purely religious (or spiritual) one patterned after the commandments of God and without any relationship to the demands and ideas of the so-called "Natural Law." They were striving after a community of the saints without regard for the social and economic conditions of their time. Since these South German Anabaptists did not teach chiliastic ideas, they did not attract the more radical elements of the population. Their development pointed rather toward the strengthening and deepening of the brotherhood ideal (*Gemeinschaft,* a living together). Adult baptism to them was but the external sign of an inner decision, the readiness toward radical sanctification of life; as such a symbol it stood in the center of the endless controversies between the Catholics and Protestants on the one side and the Anabaptist leaders on the other.

Balthasar Hubmaier, the founder of the first Anabaptist congregation in Moravia, came to that country by the middle of 1526. Since the days of the Council of Basel (1433), Moravia had enjoyed a certain amount of toleration in matters of religion;[3] now

[2] "The Schleitheim Confession of Faith" translated by J. C. Wenger, *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XIX, October 1945, 243-253, with valuable notes by the translator.

[3] The *Prague Compactata* (1433)—a result of the Council of Basel—gave the Hussites certain freedoms. Since the Hussites were the forerunners of later (Lutheran) Protestantism, these Compactata were also applied to the latter; it meant a certain

it became the outstanding sanctuary of the Anabaptists throughout the sixteenth century. The "evangelical" congregation of Nikolsburg (founded in 1524) became the very nucleus of various sectarian movements, among which was also Hubmaier's Anabaptist group. It exerted wide attraction far into the Austrian and German lands.

The decade between Hubmaier's beginnings (1526) and the death of the final organizer of the Moravian Anabaptist brotherhoods, Jakob Hutter (early 1536), is filled with a number of internal struggles centering around the question of the proper relationship of the new church (*Gemeinde*) to the politico-social order within which it had sprung up. The religious ideas in the more narrow sense of basic Christian doctrines had, to be sure, found general consent since the days of their first formulation through Hubmaier and others. However, in the conflict between Hubmaier and Hans Hut in 1527, the suffering and nonresistant position of most Anabaptists (favoring complete nonconformity to the world) was already clearly represented. The debate between the two men did not lead to any hopeful promise of unification; in fact, Hubmaier seemed even to have favored the use of secular power against his Anabaptist opponent, quite in accord with the ideas of his recent book *Concerning the Sword.* Hans Hut had to flee from Moravia, and the controversy came to an abrupt end, most likely not unwelcomed by Hubmaier.

The Anabaptist group in Nikolsburg was not to find peace again on account of the socio-political questions involved, so central for all Anabaptists. After Hubmaier's arrest and martyrdom (1528), the difference between the two groups became even more outspoken and urgent. On the one side there was the moderate group which continued Hubmaier's ideas concerning "the sword," and which was sponsored by the manorial lords of Nikolsburg, the Liechtensteins, then sympathetic toward some Anabaptist ideas. On the other side there was the nonresistant group which pressed toward radical discipleship and complete separation from the world. The remarkable Church Ordinance (*Gemeindeordnung*) of 1529, to be found in the Hutterite *Chronicle,* deals with "The way that a Christian should live,"[4] quite in accordance with the spirit of the Schleitheim Articles of 1527, even though the "sword" issue is not touched. The entire religious life of the brotherhood

amount of toleration of Protestantism in the Bohemian Kingdom (which included also Moravia).

[4] "Ordnung der Gemein wie ein Christ leben soll," 1529, in *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder,* ed. by A. J. F. Zieglschmid (Philadelphia, 1943), 83-85.

is here regulated: strict discipline is required, and the brethren and sisters are admonished to live a clean and restrained life. Community of goods, as required in Article IV, is understood but as a sharing in love with the needy (*Liebeskommunismus*),[5] acknowledging differences in position, occupation and possessions, yet denying all basic inequalities in a society bound together by love. Everyone should surrender to the brotherhood and commit himself to God and His laws. All goods received from God should be kept in common, according to the usage of the primitive church, so that those of the brotherhood who were in need could be supported (Acts 2, 4, and 5). The chosen deacons should take care of the poor, and serve them according to the commandments of the Lord. The last of the twelve articles of 1529 indicates the tense expectation of the end by the brethren: "We ought to watch and wait for the Lord, so that when he comes we would be worthy to enter the Kingdom with him. By this we would escape the evil that will be the lot of the world." A certain eschatological element comes to the fore that will be found again even stronger in Jakob Hutter, but then combined with a tremendously active program for the conquest of real life here on earth.

After 1529, the "Hutterite" community gradually evolved through a process in which the church (*Gemeinde*) "was purified and cleansed of false and unfit persons, and established the right assembly and discipline."[6] The old differences became more and more outspoken. The followers of Jakob Wiedemann, who stood in absolute opposition to the "world," are called the *Stäbler* (i.e., those who carry a staff instead of a sword), because they refused the use of violence and took no part in courts, governmental authorities, and war. They separated from the so-called *Schwertler* (i.e., those who carry a sword) who followed the line of Hubmaier's compromise with the world. The Wiedemann group, the *Stäbler,* was then compelled to leave Nikolsburg, as once Hans Hut had been compelled to flee. But theirs was to be the future.

In their plight they practiced for the first time real community of goods in the manner of the apostles. The Hutterite *Chronicle* reports this event as follows: "At this time the men put down a coat before the people, and everyone put upon it his possessions, unconstrained and with a willing mind, for the sustenance of the needy according to the teachings of the prophets and apostles."[7] The

[5] Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (German 1912), English ed. (New York, 1931), 332.
[6] *Chronik,* ed. Zieglschmid, 85.
[7] *Chronik,* ed. Zieglschmid, 87.

Stäbler finally settled down in near-by Austerlitz. To be sure, there were more such groups besides the *Schwertler* in Nikolsburg and the *Stäbler* in Austerlitz; there were also the *Gabrielites* in Rossitz (named after Gabriel Ascherham) and the *Philipites* in Auspitz (named after Philip Plener or Blauärmel). All these groups had a similar organization and all observed a kind of communism of love (in the above-defined sense). It was, however, not until the arrival of Jakob Hutter that the idea of a perfect community of goods was carried out. Convinced of the absolute opposition of a Christian society to the existing social order of this world, this extraordinary man gave to Moravian Anabaptism its final form, without which it would not have long persisted in view of its inner disunity and external persecution.

In the fall of 1529 Jakob Hutter came for the first time from Tyrol to Moravia. The *Chronicle* reports in a solemn Biblical style his first appearance among the Anabaptist brethren in Tyrol.

> At that time there came a man by the name of Jakob, by profession a hatter (Huter), born in the hamlet Moos in the Pustertal. He entered into the covenant of grace of a good conscience [with God (I Peter 3:21)] through Christian baptism, to live and walk in right dedication and godly fashion.[8]

His brethren soon sensed the divine gifts of God within him, and chose him into the ministry of the Word of God. These Anabaptists in Tyrol were badly persecuted by the Habsburg government, and it was good news to them when they heard of a "people of the Lord" in Moravia, "who walked with one heart, one mind and one soul, and were faithfully concerned with each other." Jakob Hutter together with another brother appeared now as a messenger among the *Stäbler* in Austerlitz, and soon a union was achieved between the Tyrolean and the Austerlitz people on the basis of their inner kinship. Hutter, having returned to Tyrol, joyously reported that he had found "the church of the saints." Subsequently a great number of Tyrolese Anabaptists began their exodus to Moravia, "the promised land," led by Hutter's co-worker Jörg Zaunring.

In Moravia Hutter must have left a deep impression on the brethren. Only thus does it become understandable why the various disunited Moravian groups made him their arbiter in their internal quarrels. In the winter of 1530 a division took place among the *Stäbler* group; while the Wiedemann faction remained in Austerlitz,

[8] *Chronik*, ed. Zieglschmid, 89.

Jörg Zaunring and his people moved to near-by Auspitz, where they were well received by the manorial lords and established their first bruderhof. Both groups appealed now to Jakob Hutter to come again to Moravia, to examine the troubles and to help them back to the right discipline and unity. Hutter came three times to Moravia, in 1530, 1531, and 1533, working hard to bring the Moravian groups into greater unity and make them capable of persisting. In 1533 he was made bishop or shepherd of the *Stäbler* group in Auspitz, in whose favor he had already decided in the first dispute of 1530. He did not succeed, however, in uniting the other congregations with his group in Auspitz. Soon the congregation of Hutter became the very center of Moravian Anabaptism, and later on managed to absorb the remaining schismatic groups. After the Anabaptists were expelled (temporarily at least) through a mandate of the Moravian provincial diet (*Landtag*) of 1535, which endangered seriously Hutter's lifework, he fled back to Tyrol where he was soon captured and brutally martyred to death in February, 1536.

We know of Hutter's personality through the Hutterite *Chronicle* and a number of epistles still extant which show the extraordinary passion and depth of his faith. A man of creative and inspired nature, Hutter was filled with the consciousness of his calling which prevented him from "keeping quiet and not using his high office." His epistles reveal an infinitely noble and kind piety and an austere humility. His untiring energy and his gift for organization overcame the many difficulties and hostilities which had at first handicapped his work so much. Predestined to leadership by a genuine gift, he visioned Moravia as the "promised land" for the realization of his ideal of Christian brotherhood. When in 1533 he arrived in Moravia for the third time, he no longer came "as to strangers but as to his dearly beloved brethren and little children."

Among the Moravian Anabaptists he was ardently revered and loved by some, and similarly hated and attacked by others. They accused him of obtruding into the office of a shepherd, and of having a proud and overbearing mind, and they also complained that people "worship him like an idol." To this Hutter answered time and again that he had no other thought but, "that God in his providence had ordained and called him for his people." The lack of inner unity, the appearance of impure selfishness and general disorderliness among the Moravian Tnabaptists, were to him as painful as to the whole congregation "who cried and lamented loudly in great sorrow and distress." Not until the people, "grieved

to death," accepted him as a bishop and shepherd sent by God, was the great community of love established, which enabled the Moravian Anabaptists to survive for so long. It was certainly a time of most intensified spiritual experience, and it was no rare event that now and then a brother would begin to speak "with great fervor" (*Aus grosser Inbrunst des Herzens zu reden anhob*). From that time on the Brotherhood called themselves the Hutterian Brethren.

There exists no document by Hutter himself regarding the establishment of the new religious-social order of the church or *Gemein(de)*. The *Chronicle* indicates that he possessed an extraordinary power and authority of speech through which he exerted a tremendous influence upon his people. The picture of an ideal community life was in his mind; in his epistle to the brethren in Tyrol concerning the division (*Zerspaltung*) of 1533,[9] he expressed his deep longing for communion, unity in spirit and peace. He had not come "to destroy peace and unity but to make it more complete," and he considered it his greatest joy "to serve the children of God and to bring them under one shelter." He regarded the brotherhood altogether as a large family. The brethren are his God-fearing children whom "he has borne by the grace of God with pain, labor and diligence in great fear." Personal contact was to him more than anything else; his heart had "a great longing and desire" for his brethren in Tyrol, and he called the messengers whom he sent to them "his living letters." It reflects an overflowing love, indeed, when he spoke of himself and of his brethren in Moravia that "to them all the doings of the brethren in Tyrol are a reason of great rejoicing and a wreath of happiness (*Freudenkranz*), and that their heart leaps at the thought of it." The letter of the brethren in Tyrol whose suffering caused him so much grief appeared to him "like the speech of God and the messenger of the angel Gabriel." Sometimes the worry and concern about the persecuted brethren is to him almost unbearable. If it were only for him, "he would rather wish to die than to hear such news," and he "cried in the depth of his heart" that the "cruel dragon, bloodhound and devil is devouring the children of God and dear brethren one after another." Though he knew that mere worry was not of much help to the persecuted ones, it yet showed them the heartfelt love of the brethren in Moravia, who for their sakes would be willing to suffer "hunger and thirst, cold and heat, and all tribulations."

[9] *Chronik*, ed. Zieglschmid, 119-138.

Likewise he bore great concern regarding the unity of the brotherhood. "Through the Spirit and truth of God" he felt and recognized what was hidden and not revealed to the church, and "with the right art and modesty" he tried to find "the right and holy medium" to do away with evil customs which had arisen in the brotherhood. The unity of the church he considered a "planting of God" and not the establishment of a self-willed leader to whose words everybody must say yes. Not until the "members in the body of Jesus Christ will walk in love, peace and unity, will the love toward God begin to wax. The peace of God greens and the truth blossoms and brings forth much divine fruit. The dear and divine children of God grow and flourish like the lovely flowers in the fields when winter and hard times are gone and summer draws near, and the pleasant April showers fall upon the earth and make all things fertile."

His ideal of an organic community or church rests on the radical principle of absolute purity. Hutter envisions how his holy church of God, "armed with spiritual weapons, fights with the wild animals, that is the sinners and rogues (*die Schalkhaften*), and purifies itself of all unclean elements." All unconcerned and frivolous souls must be mustered out from the church of God through trial and tribulation, as the dross is separated from the gold through fire, and as the chaff is blown away from the wheat through the wind. It is his "fervent supplication to the Lord" that the church of God be preserved "holy, pure, and blameless."

There was a visionary strain in Hutter which makes it understandable that in anticipation of the imminent kingdom of God he sometimes saw in his brotherhood already the realization of this kingdom. An eschatological element permeated Hutter's religious life, heightening its intensity into an overflowing force. He lived in the consciousness that he preached the holy Word of God "in the very last days before the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ," and he warned the brethren that the last and most dangerous hour had come which was prophesied by Christ and all the prophets. The Lord, he told them, is approaching with great power; hence everybody may prepare and ready himself that he might gain "a free and certain admittance." With increasing persecution, the idea of complete surrender unto God's will became more and more dominant in Hutter's epistles. "Our flesh and the external man," he wrote, "has no freedom, no rest, and no security anywhere, but we are of good cheer and of a high mind. For we know that inasmuch as our external man decreases and decays, our inward man

grows from day to day. We know that we have a place in Heaven not built with hands but by the power of the infinite God, which place remains forever and may never be destroyed like this bodily and mortal frame of ours." He comforted the brethren in prison by pointing to the divine fatherland where they will rest from all labor and pain, and "where they will shed the burdened frame." The world became to him a "wretched desert" where there is no peace, no rest, and no abode, and all his longing was directed toward the future world.

In the well-known letter to the governor of Moravia of 1535, pleading for his exiled and helpless congregation which "camps on a wild heath under the open sky."[10] Hutter's faith is summarized once again: the direction towards a beyond, the feeling of being a stranger in this world, and the absolute nonresistant attitude of a child of God under persecution. The fate of his church "to be persecuted, despised and deprived of all goods by the world" appeared to him to be the fate of all saints and prophets, yea even the fate of Christ, and he saw in it a sign of the sonship of God. He emphatically confirmed the nonresistant stand of the brethren, "who would rather die and have their lives taken from them ere they would strike their worst enemy with their hand." Yet he demanded of the governor a homestead on this earth "which is of the Lord," so that they may live "as true disciples of Christ, peacefully and of one mind in God's truth and justice."

This Hutterite brotherhood became in the vision of its founder more and more the true community of love which fulfills the pure law of Christ in these latter days, and its purity and sanctity should be preserved and cherished through complete separation from the "world." This church, which knows no compromises as Hubmaier knew them, stands therefore in absolute opposition to the world, and tries to realize its high principles in a small and closed circle. Hutter established his church not on the basis of a "communism of love" (in the sense defined by Troeltsch) with its voluntary and undemanded charity, but on the basis of the democratic-communistic idea of the absolute equality of all, also including economic matters. The communism of mere consumption is thus replaced by a communion of goods with its sharing also of the means of production.

Moravia, the "promised land" of the Anabaptists, opened the possibility for the realization of such a communion of goods among the brotherhood as no other country of the sixteenth century. The

[10] *Chronik,* ed. Zieglschmid, 149-154.

Moravian nobility had an economic interest in these industrious, puritanical, and peaceful people. The lords, upon whose estates they lived by virtue of contracts, strongly protected them against the catholicizing tendencies of the governors. The closed and homogeneous groups of each bruderhof (farm collective or commune) dealt with the world as single units: they bought and sold collectively, and paid rent and taxes collectively. Through the abolition of both private property and the right of inheritance, the brotherhood severed its members from the world at large, and taught them if not to despise earthly goods yet at least to consider them as secondary, and to look at them as mere means of subsistence and not as ends in themselves. To consider material goods in this way means, to a certain extent, also their sanctification inasmuch as they receive now their value only through a radical religious interpretation. Jakob Hutter recognized the economic security of the brotherhood as the precondition for the full development of a sacred community. This idea of care in things material distinguishes itself from the idea of charity in the traditional type of "communism of love" which leaves the external conditions altogether unchanged. As a closed community the Hutterites eliminated any competitive spirit in their economic activities, and separated themselves radically from a world of struggle for existence, coercion, and law enforcement.

From Hutterite sources we know that the brethren lived on great collective farms called bruderhofs or *Haushaben,* where everything (work, eating, praying, care of children, nursing the sick and the old) was done in common. All goods belonged to the community, the earnings from labor went into a common treasury and were used according to common needs. A splendid large-scale organization of the economy made it possible for such a bruderhof to be almost completely self-sufficient. After the needs of the community had been met, all surplus was then sold, and because of rationalized methods of production and an austere way of living, it yielded large earnings. All work was strictly regulated by excellent ordinances (*Gemeindeordnungen*) which controlled both the crafts and husbandry, and which expressly forbade all activities incompatible with the spirit of the community (such as the production of weapons, innkeeping, and trading, that is buying and selling merchandise for profit). The external life of the bruderhofs was supervised by *Diener der Notdurft* (managers, stewards), while the spiritual life was directed by *Diener des Wortes* (ministers); both were elected by the entire brotherhood, often by the lot. The head of such

a bruderhof was the bishop or shepherd, elected for life, who kept always in close contact with both kinds of *Diener,* thus achieving a unified guidance of the community. He was assisted by the elders of the brotherhood. Some *Diener des Wortes,* who were particularly endowed with spiritual gifts, were appointed as "apostles"; they were sent out by the community as "missioners" (*Sendboten*), to preach and to baptize according to the commandment of the Gospel. In this service many of them became martyrs whose memory was kept in high esteem.

To conclude from the unquestionable flowering of these bruderhofs that economic and social motives had been dominant, would be certainly misleading. All Hutterite writings speak to the contrary. They all emphasize that it is the commandment of love, the highest principle of the Gospel, which requires such complete self-surrender and such entering into a perfect communion of goods. It means a voluntary relinquishing of anything personal, and a tie by which the members testify to their love for each other. It means the community in the "house of God" where there is no mine nor thine, where equal love rules, and where everyone shares the same concerns and participates in the same goods.

To this must be added also the idea of absolute nonconformity with the world and of separation from it, which brought the brethren closer together and liberated them from the economic connections with the outside world. That this absolute opposition to the world did not take the form of the Münsterite Revolution is due to the nonresistant attitude of the Hutterites who, like all other evangelical Anabaptists, rejected any use of force. That the realization of such a community without the use of force was possible was, at least partly, due to the comparatively favorable conditions in Moravia during the sixteenth century and the benevolent protection by the nobles, the manorial lords.

The communion of goods was not in the first place intended to serve any material well-being, but to liberate the Christian life from material impediments. It was a "theocratic" communism permeated by the force of brotherly love and resting upon the idea of the perfect equality of those who are united in God.

II. *Riedemann's Rechenschaft, "The Account of Our Religion, Doctrine and Faith," of 1540*

The strict discipline of both the material and the spiritual life, which Jakob Hutter had given for the first time to the *Stäbler*

group in Auspitz, represents the background and basis for Peter Riedemann's great doctrinal work, the *Rechenschaft,* which he in 1540 drew up while in jail in the Hessian cities of Marburg and Walkersdorf. It became the central document of the Moravian Anabaptists. The unceasing attacks mainly upon the Hutterite principle of a life in community of goods made it an urgent task to formulate a confession of faith in which the tenets of the church were officially stated. The brotherhood was fortunate enough to have in Peter Riedemann a theologically minded brother who was capable of fulfilling this task. It seems, however, that this *Rechenschaft* was the result of common prayer and concern of the leading Hutterite brethren Hans Amon, Peter Riedemann, Leonhard Lanzenstiel, and Peter Walpot; most likely the epistles of Jakob Hutter were consulted, too. Peter Riedemann was one of those untiringly active apostles of the Hutterites who worked for their church in many parts of Germany and Austria. The Hutterite Chronicle reports that he had served his church for twenty-seven years as a *Diener des Wortes,* of which time he spent nine years in various prisons. He was born in Silesia, and had joined the brotherhood at least by 1532.[11] For the next ten years he worked as a missioner, until he finally returned to Moravia in 1542. From then on until his death in 1556, he was the co-leader of the church together with Leonhard Lanzenstiel, particularly active as writer of the official documents of his church. Fifty years old, he died on the bruderhof of Protzko, Slovakia, near the Moravian border. In his numerous epistles, which show him as a convinced and enthusiastic defender of the Hutterite brotherhood, he reveals a great inner kinship with Jakob Hutter. He combines a complete dedication to the "community in Christ" and a "life which is divine" with the untiring concern for the concrete unity of the church. Filled with the "burning fire of God," he served the church with the "gifts given to him by God and with all his life." Like Hutter he often uses the language of the New Testament, speaking of "the holy church without spot or wrinkle," and of "the fire which God has kindled in all his saints, so that they might testify to the communion of the Holy Spirit." He tries to establish "the love and community of the Holy Spirit" among his brethren, so that "they would live no longer to themselves but for God and his children." Disunity and dissension within the church are to him—as

[11] However, he must have been an "Anabaptist" prior to that date since we know that he was in jail in Gmunden, Upper-Austria, for his belief as early as 1529. Here in Gmunden, he produced his first *Confession of Faith.*

they were to Hutter—the work of Satan, who wants to destroy the church, the chosen children of God in Moravia, and tears away as many as possible from the kingdom of God. The doings of the "apostates who shied away from Christian obedience, love and communion of goods, and who returned to a life with private property, thus making desolate the house of God," appear to him as "a desertion of God and abandonment of the first love."

There is a strong spiritualistic trend in Riedemann's thinking. Emphasizing the power of the Spirit for man's inner renewal, the communion of the brethren appears to him occasionally as the reflection of the inner life of the Trinitarian unity.[12] He ascribes the unity of the Church to "the fire of the Spirit," and he contrasts "the sullen and idle flesh" (which one should put away) with "the ready and cheerful Spirit" who gives strength to those who are driven by Him, "so that they who run do not succumb, and they who walk do not get tired."

Riedemann finds the cue to the interpretation of the Scriptures in the radical antithesis between following the world on one hand and trying to become more like Christ and to conform to Him on the other. It is a basic tenet of all Anabaptists. The Hutterite *Chronicle* praises him in particular for his interpretation of the Scriptures, and on the occasion of his passing away has this to say about him: "He was rich in all divine mysteries, and the gift of the sacred Word issued forth from him like a spring of water which overflows. Whoever heard him had peace."[13]

It is the purpose of this paper to study the particular place of Riedemann's teachings concerning the Hutterite Church within South German Anabaptism in general, and to examine any possible relations between Hubmaier and Riedemann in particular. Johann Loserth in his great work on the communism of the Moravian Anabaptists claimed that the *Rechenschaft* follows closely the writings of Hubmaier. "The doctrines concerning faith, grace and repentance, the Testament of the Lord, baptism and the Lord's Supper, community of saints, governmental authority and the duties toward it, are essentially the same as those of Hubmaier. Even in the doctrine of the communion of goods he follows him to a certain extent."[14]

[12] See the *Account of our religion,* etc (Engl. ed.) 37, 43.

[13] *Chronik,* ed. Zieglschmid, 356f.

[14] Johann Loserth, *Der Communismus der mährischen Wiedertäufer* (Wien, 1894), 226.

At closer scrutiny this statement may be contested; it will be one of the conclusions of this paper that the dependence of Riedemann on Hubmaier has its sharp and distinct limitations, and that we have to understand the *Rechenschaft* as a religious document of high originality of its own. In a sense it represents an apology against the disparagement of Anabaptism as a kind of subjective enthusiasm (*Schwärmerei*). It is a unique document of a Christian group which is thoroughly dedicated to the Scriptural principle. In fact, in spite of Riedemann's genuine and outspoken spiritualism, the Biblical tendencies are so strong that the *Rechenschaft* occasionally appears almost like a collection of Bible quotations.[15] And yet, the book is more than that by virtue of Riedemann's often profoundly spiritual interpretation of the texts quoted, which gives them a completely new meaning.

The *Rechenschaft* is not a theological work but a simple confession of faith. Many chapters begin with the characteristic clause "We confess" (*Wir bekennen . . .*). In the foreword, Riedemann explains why this book was written: in the first place "because it is good, agreeable and well-pleasing to God to confess one's faith," and in the second place "because there is so much blasphemy against the truth." The book is divided into two unequal sections, of which the second one is more like an appendix to the first one. About half of the first part deals with the basic articles of faith, while the other half contains the tenets and practical regulations of the community in the social and economic realm.[16]

[15] The *Rechenschaft* quotes between 1700 and 1800 Bible texts on its 210 pages. The English edition collects all these references in a separate section: pp. 229-266.

[16] This is, abbreviated, about the contents of the book: *The first part:* The Apostolic Creed ("We acknowledge God/ the almighty Father/ etc."), What faith is/ Concerning doctrine/ Concerning idolatry/ Why God created man; that God created man in his likeness; what God's likeness is/ Of the likeness of the devil/ How Adam forsook the likeness of God and fell into sin/ What sin is; concerning original sin; what original sin is; the harm wrought by original sin; concerning remorse; concerning repentance/ Man is grafted into Christ/ Concerning God's covenant; concerning the old covenant; the law; the Gospel; concerning the New Covenant/ Concerning baptism of children; the reasons of those who baptize children and their refutation; concerning the baptism of Christ and of his Church; how one should baptize; who can so baptize and teach?/ Concerning the election of ministers; differences of ministries/ The misuse of the Lord's Supper/ Concerning the Supper of Christ/ Community of goods/ Concerning separation/ Concerning the temple and that we go not therein/ Concerning priests and why we have naught to do with them/ Concerning marriage; concerning adultery/ Concerning governmental authority; why governmental authority hath been ordained; whether rulers can also be Christians?/ Concerning warfare/ Concerning taxation/ Concerning the making of swords; the making of clothes/ Whether a Christian can go to Law (court) or sit in judgment/ Concerning swearing; greeting, giving the hand and embracing, prayer, singing, fasting, celebrating,/ Concerning traders, innkeepers, standing drinks, coming together/ Concerning the education of children/ Concerning exclusion (i.e. the Ban); concerning re-admission/ Concerning the whole life walk, dress, and adornment of Christians.

This makes a total of ninety articles. Then follows the *Second part* with seven

In the following an attempt will be made to formulate some of these ideas, and to present systematically the main Hutterite doctrines concerning the church and the common life.

III. *The Doctrine of the Church and of the Spirit*

The "Credo" (pp. 15-46[17]) with which the *Rechenschaft* begins, contains in the four chapters, "We believe in the Holy Spirit," "Through whom is gathered together one holy Christian church," "What the church is," and "How one is led thereto," a concept of the church in general outlines though not always in a very sharp formulation. These chapters represent the very core of the Credo, and might be well used here as a starting point for the development of the Hutterite ideas of church and community (*Gemeinschaft*). The main statements run about as follows. "God has through Christ chosen a people for himself, not having spot or wrinkle, but pure and holy, as he himself is holy. Therefore such a people, community, assembly or church is gathered and led together by the Holy Spirit, which from henceforth ruleth, controlleth and ordereth everything in her, leading all her members to be of one mind and of one intention, so that they want only to be like Christ, as one body with him, one plant, one tree, as Paul says, 'The same spirit assureth us that we are children of God' " (p. 38).

The church is then an assembly of children of God who have separated themselves from all unclean things. The church is gathered together by the Holy Spirit, hath being and is kept in being by Him; there is no other church apart from that which the Holy Spirit buildeth and gathereth. Therefore is the assembly of the unjust and sinners no church of God at all, and they belong not to him. None of them can be or continue therein unless he repent of his sins. "There shall in no wise enter into it anything that defileth" (Rev. 21:27) (p. 39).

The next chapter, "What the church is," sounds almost like a great hymn and represents one of the finest parts of the entire

articles of greater length, and not quite of the character of a "confession" or "account," but rather of the character of doctrinal treatises:

How God desireth to have a people, whom He Himself hath separated from the world and chosen to be His bride/ How the house of the Lord should be built up in Christ/ Concerning the covenant of grace given to His people in Christ/ Concerning the Supper of Christ and how his suffering serveth for our salvation/ Concerning swearing, about which there is much controversy/ Concerning governmental authority and its appointed services and appurtenances/ Conclusion of this book.

Part I comprises (in Engl. and without Bible ref.) 121 pages; Part II (likewise) 85 pages. The present paper deals exclusively with Part I.

[17] All page references throughout this paper are taken from the English edition of the *Rechenschaft* (see note 1).

Rechenschaft. The essence of the church is her bearing of the Light. The church is the basis and ground of truth, a lantern (*Luzerne*) of righteousness, in which the light of grace is borne and held before the whole world, that its darkness, unbelief and blindness be thereby seen and made light, and that men may also learn to see and know the way of life. Therefore is the church of Christ completely filled with the light of Christ, as a lantern is illuminated and made bright by the light in it, that his light might shine through her to others. The light of the knowledge of God "shineth out into the distance to give light to others still walking in darkness." As the outward light sheddeth a ray in accordance with its nature, even so doth the divine light, wherever it has been lit in a man, give forth a divine ray and beam. The nature of this light is righteousness, brightness, and truth, which is shed abroad by the lantern (which is the church of Christ) to give light to all men.

The church of Christ is a pillar and ground of the truth, which truth then is confirmed, ratified, and brought to pass in her by the Holy Spirit. Whosoever suffereth the working of the Spirit of Christ is a member of this church, but whosoever suffereth not this work, but alloweth sin to have the rule over him, belongeth not to the church of God (p. 40).

In the chapter, "Forgiveness of Sins" (p. 44), Riedemann calls the church "Christ's bride, spouse and consort." With the words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost . . ." (John 20:19-23) Christ gave to this church the power received from the Father to forgive sins. But this "power and key" is given to the church as a whole and not to individual persons. "What the church excludeth is excluded, and whatsoever she forgiveth is forgiven here and in eternity" (Matt. 18:18).

Into this church of the Spirit and Light enters only the one who is led by the Spirit. Only he who lives and walks in the Truth, that is in God, and who lets himself be led by the Truth, so that it shineth through him like a light, may enter into the church of Christ and dwell there. God gathereth her through the Spirit, therefore those who are to gather men to her must have the same Spirit. Christ, when he desired to send his disciples to gather together his church, filled them with the Spirit (Acts 1:1-8). He gave them an order concerning how to gather the church, namely with word and sign (Matt. 28:18-20). The word is to be spoken in the Spirit of Christ, and the sign should be given to the one who is moved thereby and believeth not without the Spirit. For it is the Spirit of Christ, and not man, that leadeth to the church. Only

what the Spirit buildeth hath also continuance through him (pp. 40-42).

These are then the main characteristics of the concept of the church which Riedemann formulated with simple quotations from the Scriptures and without much theological elaboration. The church is to him "the gathering of the children of God," that is of those who follow in the footsteps of Christ and are united with Him in one body. The Spirit that works in the church makes her the bearer of the Word that illuminates the world. In her nature she is spiritual, but in the concrete she appears as the pure, sacred community (*Gemeinde*) which separates itself from the "company of sinners." To this church of Christ the full power of the key is given. Church assembly and community are understood as one and the same.

The question of the relationship between Spirit, Word, and sign within the church, and of the admittance into her is answered in a general way as follows. First, the introduction is done by word and sign; second, the ministry of the Word stands under the ordinances of Christ; and finally, the bearers of the Word must have the Spirit of Christ by which alone Word and sign become effective.

In the arguments for this concept of the church, there are clearly distinguishable two sets of Bible quotations. (A) To the first set belong all those texts which more or less represent the general traits of every church concept; namely, the gathering through the Spirit, the exclusive possession of the truth, the power of the "key," the preaching of the Word, and the established discipline. Matthew 28 (the commandment to teach and baptize) and Matthew 10 (the sending of the apostles) provide the element of authority to the church, while Acts 1 and 2 (the descent of the Holy Spirit) point to the necessity and the working of the Holy Spirit in her. Surprisingly no reference is made in the *Rechenschaft* to the classical locus Matthew 16, in which Christ established His church. Riedemann prefers rather to talk of the nature of the church as Light, and in his hymn-like chapter, "What the Church is" (39-40), he uses the parable of the light and the bushel, and also of the city on the hill, to indicate that in the last analysis he understands the church dynamically as the penetration of the world by the Spirit.

(B) But all these quotations do not yet represent the particular principles upon which the Hutterite church was established. They are founded upon a second set of texts not generally used in the Scriptural arguments for a church concept. Dominant here is the

idea of the "glorious church without spot or wrinkle" (Ephesians 5:27) and of the "chosen, holy nation" (I Peter 2:9). This theme of being the children of God appears time and again, and finds its most radical expression in the ecstatic pictures of the Book of Revelation (Rev. 21 and 22) concerning the final separation of the pure and impure. It is this principle of absolute purity, both of the individual and of the church as a whole, which is almost in the center of Riedemann's teaching concerning the church and which permeates his entire book. This idea of purity is directly related to his understanding of the nature and the working of the Holy Spirit. From here follows the idea of the religious organism as the homogeneous body of Christ, to be separated from the world, and of the holiness of the "Fellowship of the Lord's table."

The primary, begetting force which gathers the church, is and remains for Riedemann the Holy Spirit. He is, however, not understood, as with the so-called "spiritual reformers" of the sixteenth century, as completely subjective and inward, but rather as an active and shaping force which works in man's whole life and guides all his practical doings.

The entire Credo (15-46) is dominated by this idea of the working Spirit: it is found in the remarkable interpretation of the Trinity (36f), the Christology, and above all in the understanding of the redemption and its operation.—From God, that is from the Truth, the Word issues forth and therefore is called Son. He proceedeth forth from God, and yet remaineth in him, for he is in all places filling the earth with his breadth and width and his height reaching into heaven (John 14:1-11). A word which proceedeth forth from man, breaketh away from him because he is weak; but the Word that proceedeth from God remaineth for ever in him for it has strength, greatness and power. Word and Truth are the Son and Father, are one. It is one strength and one nature (although there are two names), which upholdeth all things in which we live, move, and are, and without his strength no one can have being (From chapter "Son," p. 24f).

The strength, power, and nature of the Godhead are to be recognized in the creation of this world. Just as when one speaketh one exhaleth and emitteth breath with the word, so that from both the speaker and the spoken word a living breath-wind bloweth and a voice proceedeth, even so doth the Holy Spirit come from the Father and the Son, or from the Truth and the Word. As the Son proceedeth from the Father, and yet remaineth in him, the Holy Spirit proceedeth from them both and remaineth in them both.

Father, Son and Spirit are one: as fire, heat and light are three names and yet one substance, so are God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, three names and yet but one being. Where one of them is, there they are all three. And whosoever hath one of them not, lacketh all three. Just as the breath determineth the word and giveth it shape and sound, even so doth the breath, wind and Spirit of God make the word living and active in us. This is the power of God that doeth, worketh, and perfecteth all things, confirmeth all things, joineth, comforteth, teacheth and instructeth and assureth us that we are children of God (from the chapter, "We Acknowledge the Holy Spirit," 36f).

In the Christology Riedemann develops the theme of how the Spirit found his highest expression. When the time of compassion drew nigh in which God wanted to fulfill his promise and have mercy on the lost human race, he sent his Word, which was in the beginning and which was with him, by means of his messenger Gabriel to a virgin whom he had aforetime chosen. As soon as she believed she was sealed with the Holy Spirit. This Spirit worked together with her faith, so that the Word, which she believed, took from her the human nature and became a living fruit. Thus was Christ sent into the world. In order to take away and to destroy sin that had entered the world, it was necessary that Christ should have an origin other than human (which comes from Adam). Through the mingling and coming together of the Holy Spirit with Mary's faith, the Word was conceived and became man. He brought not his human nature with him from heaven but received and took it from Mary. Since he entered the world other than by the way of Adam, he is a different human being, one without any inclination to sin. He was a true and real man who in all things (sin only excepted) was tempted and tested. At his death on the cross the divine nature in him forsook and left the human. The human nature, because of its weakness, then died, and now the Word in the strength of God liveth and reigneth from eternity to eternity (from "Ascended into Heaven," 31f).

These ideas of Riedemann concerning the Holy Spirit show all their clearness and unity only after they have been selected and condensed from the somewhat involved text of the *Rechenschaft* proper, as it has been tried on the preceding pages. Riedemann's extraordinary theological gift reveals itself most impressively in his profoundly spiritualized interpretation of the Trinity and all that which follows from it.

IV. *The Doctrine of Redemption and Entrance into the Church*

Riedemann sees in the Spirit the all-powerful active force of God, and in Christ, the divine-human being, the foremost working of the Spirit. In the pure beginnings of Christ the redemptive element is already contained. Just as the idea of purity has been the dominant principle in Riedemann's concept of the church, so is also his interpretation of redemption permeated by it. Redemption, seen concretely, means the working of the Spirit in the individual and his preparation for entrance into the church. It is the Spirit of Christ, says Riedemann, which leads into the church.

No one can call Jesus "Lord" except he does so in the Holy Spirit; all those who confess him in truth to be Lord must be children of his Spirit. He is Lord, for all power is given to him in heaven, on earth, and in the abyss. Thus he has overcome all unclean spirits and delivered men from them. No one, Riedemann continues, may ascribe to Christ such glory and honor unless except he experiences such victory in himself, namely that Christ has overcome the devil in him also, and rent and removed his snare, that is sin, delivered him, set him free, and reconciled him with God. For he in whom Christ is thus to become victorious must first surrender himself wholeheartedly to him, and must endure and suffer his work. If, however, this should not happen, then Christ worketh not in the same, and he remaineth in his sins forever (from "We confess Christ to be the Lord," 25f. The last few lines were slightly changed from the English text which has "since" instead of "if").

The Christ of Riedemann is the inwardly experienced and fought-for Christ. He is somewhat similar to the "bitter Christ" of Thomas Müntzer who through suffering and inner struggle leads to self-surrender (*Gelassenheit*), and is in opposition to the "sweet Christ" of Martin Luther through whom all sins are expiated in advance. The work of Christ in man has for Riedemann the meaning of a complete conversion and rebirth. This inner change Riedemann describes as follows: the Spirit worketh everything in us, quenching, eradicating and killing sin, which we have by nature, so that the true, good, right and holy, which he bringeth with him and planteth in us may take root and bring forth fruit (from "Our Father," p. 18). That same Spirit taketh us captive into his obedience and leadeth us in his way, teacheth us his character, ways and goodness, that he may thereby become more and more known to the children of man (from "Son," p. 25).

Salvation and redemption according to Riedemann consists

in the liberation from the domination of sin. Arguing against Lutheran ideas, he writes: he who continueth in sins, who lieth therein and is held thereby captive, yet saith that Christ has redeemed him, is even as a prisoner who lieth bound hand and foot yet saith he is free. Who would not regard that as folly? For he that saith that he is free and yet is bound, seeketh and desireth all the less to become free. Now, many say—especially the Lutherans—that Christ is their righteousness and goodness, although they still live in all abomination and lasciviousness, which thing is naught else than to draw near to God with the mouth while the heart is far from Him (Is. 29:13); therefore is this a seducing from Christ rather than a confessing of Christ.[18] Thereby men are hindered from seeking true righteousness which is in Christ Jesus (from "We Believe also in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord," p. 35).

Riedemann refutes the reproach of self-righteousness and self-meritoriousness by emphasizing the saving power of Christ, apart from whom there is no goodness. "Although many say of us," he writes in the same chapter, "that we seek to be good through our own works, to this we say [emphatically] 'no,' for we know that all our work, insofar as it is our own work, is naught but sin and unrighteousness. But insofar as it is of Christ and done by Christ in us, so far is it just and good, loved of God and well-pleasing to Him. Through the actual strength and working of Christ he guideth us into his nature, essence and character" (p. 36).

Salvation is to Riedemann not only liberation but also a new covenant. God hath cut out from our heart evil, sin and the lust to sin, but hath made it hang upon his Word to seek, love and hear it, and not only to hear it but also to keep and with all diligence to follow the same (p. 38).

The source of strength for such work Riedemann describes in the chapters, "What Faith Is" (p. 46f) and "From Whence Faith Cometh" (47f). Faith is not the empty illusion that those men think who only bear it about with them in their mouths, and know no more about it; who think that Christianity is in words only, and therefore hold and regard each and all as Christians, no matter how they live if they but confess Christ with the mouth. True faith is not of man, but a gift of God. It dispelleth all wavering and doubt, and maketh our heart hold surely, steadfastly and

[18] Riedemann alludes here to what today would be called the difference between the "cheap and the costly grace." Compare Dietrich Bonhoefer, *The Cost of Discipleship* (New York, 1949), 37ff.

firmly to God through all tribulations. Faith maketh us as certain of all God's promises as a man who taketh an object in his hands and holdeth it is certain that he hath it. Therefore faith is a real, divine power which reneweth man and maketh him like God in nature, ardent in love, and in keeping his commandments.

Riedemann knows very well that he ascribes much to the power of faith, and "in order to make no one uneasy" he adds a further meditation on "What faith is." With I John 5:4, he calls faith the victory that overcometh the world. It is a victory which God worketh in us through faith, so that in believers, in proportion to their faith, naught takes place save what God worketh in men.

The chapter "From Whence Faith Cometh" (47f) deals with the awakening of faith. Faith cometh from a diligent hearing of the Word of God which is proclaimed by the mouth of God by means of those whom he sendeth. Yet, it is not the literal but the living Word that pierceth soul and spirit. This Word maketh wise unto salvation and teacheth us to know God. From the knowledge of God faith springeth up and with faith knowledge. These entwine and grow together and lead man to God. The more zealously we hear and receive the word, the more doth knowledge grow. The chapter closes with the forceful statement: "Where such faith which doeth all this in man is not present, there is no faith but an empty delusion and darkness, by means of which men betray and deceive themselves."

This process of awakening to faith ends with the rebirth, the change of man through the Spirit of Christ. The true, that is the eternal life, beginneth here and now in those who have the right faith. Because, however, corruption cannot inherit incorruption, but must put on incorruption, and what is mortal must put on immortality, he who would rise again to life must here be born through faith in the truth to eternal life (from "Eternal Life," p. 46).

In the chapters, "Concerning the Baptism of Children" (68f) and "Concerning the Baptism of Christ and of His Church" (77f), Riedemann describes the rebirth of man in a close parallel to the christological ideas discussed earlier. Thus he compares the pure birth of Christ and the preparation of a God-fearing individual for the entrance into the "House of Christ." To enter this house means to him to inherit Christ's nature, to share his fellowship, and to become a member of his body, in short, to be born of him, not in the human way but in the Christian way. Only by a new birth man can gain again the Good and Divine which was lost through the inheritance of Adam. Birth into the nature of Adam leads to the

fellowship of Adam, while birth into the nature of Christ leads into the fellowship of Christ. Since we must be born of God and not of Adam, we must consider carefully how the birth of Christ took place (p. 78). Through the Word that was proclaimed, Mary believed the angel Gabriel, and through faith received the holy Spirit. The latter worked together with her faith so that she conceived Christ who was thus born of her. Whoever now is to be born in Christian wise, must firstly like Mary hear the Word and believe the same, that when his faith is sealed with the Holy Spirit he may be truly accepted into the Church of Christ (p. 69). As in the birth of Christ, faith and spirit work together toward the pure birth of the children of God. It is the Holy Spirit who reneweth man and maketh him live (after he had been dead in sin), so that man is formed into a new creature, a new man after God's likeness. Thus, Riedemann concludes, whosoever is born in this wise, to him belongeth baptism as a bath of rebirth (Titus 3:1-7) (p. 78).

The baptism of the New Testament means the entrance into the covenant of the grace of God and the incorporation into the Church of Christ. According to the words of Peter (I Peter 3:21), baptism is nothing but the covenant of a good conscience with God.

In his polemics against infant baptism Riedemann is intent to demonstrate the "right and necessary" sequence of preaching, faith, rebirth, and baptism. Children cannot be baptized in the right way because they were not born in Christian wise through preaching, faith and spirit. Moreover, there is no indication in the Scriptures that the apostles or Jesus ever baptized children.

The chapter "The Manner of Baptism, or how one Baptizes" (79-80) contains a complete formulary or agenda for the ceremony of baptism. If one is to be baptized it is necessary that there be at least two persons, he that baptizeth and he that is to be baptized. He that baptizeth pointeth out to the man his sins, how he may come to God, and find grace with Him, and how baptism is a covenant with God. In this way he showeth him the benefit of baptism, through which the man is moved to desire baptism. Thus he who is to be baptized must first request, ask for, and desire it. Then he who baptizeth asketh him if he believeth in God, Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit. Thus the other must confess his faith. He is further asked if he rejecteth world, sin and devil. These he must reject. Next he is asked if he desireth to yield himself to God with all his heart and all his soul and all his members, henceforth to live no more to himself but to God and his Church, and to suffer God only to rule over and use all his members. If this is his desire, then

he is asked further whether he be well assured of all this and certain in his heart that this is the truth, and that there is no other way of life than is shown him in Christ. And if he likewise confesseth this, the baptizer asketh if he desireth to bind himself to God and be baptized. If he so desireth, the baptizer then telleth him to humble himself with bent knees before God and his Church, and he taketh pure water and poureth it upon him and saith, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, who in accordance with thy faith hath forgiven thy sins and drawn and received thee into his Kingdom. Therefore sin henceforth no more, lest a worst thing befall thee."—Since in baptism the man's sins are left behind and forgiven, and since the Church has the key, this ceremony should take place before the entire church (or brotherhood), who, together with him who baptizeth and him who desireth baptism, kneeleth down and asketh God to forgive his sins before baptism taketh place. Where, however, this cannot be done and the church cannot be reached, the baptizer may do it alone (p. 80).

V. *The Doctrine of the Fellowship of the Lord's Table (Abendmahlsgemeinde) and of the Separation from the World*

When the God-fearing person has been introduced into the Church of Christ through right faith, rebirth, and baptism, then the sealing up of the individual by the Spirit of Christ produces in him that inner unity with Christ which finds its best expression in the parable of the vine and its branches (John 15). This idea of unity with Christ comes up time and again in the *Rechenschaft*. Christ is the root or stem, but we are the branches. We are one substance, one matter, one essence, yes one bread and one body with him. As the sap riseth from the root and maketh the branches fruitful, even so the Spirit of Christ riseth from the root that is Christ into the branches or twigs, to make them all fruitful. Hence the twigs are of the same character as the root, and bear only corresponding fruit. Thus doth man become one with God, and God with him, even as a father with his son, and is gathered and brought into the Church and community of Christ. (p. 62).

The chapter "Concerning the Supper of Christ" (85f) deals with the fellowship with Christ and with one another of the reborn and those renewed in the image of God. Together with the chapters, "Concerning Exclusion" (Ban) (131f) and "Concerning Readmission" (133) it contains some of the most central religious ideas of Riedemann. To him the words and acts of Christ at the Last Supper mean the concrete communion of the body of Christ.

To make the meaning of the words of Christ very clear, he quotes first the parable of the vine (John 15, see above) and then the words of Paul in I Corinthians 10:17, "We being many are yet one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of the one bread." Riedemann then continues: As the bread is made a loaf by the bringing together of many grains, even so we, many human beings, who were scattered and divided, of many minds and purposes are led by faith into one, and have become one plant, one living organism, and one body of Christ, cleaving to Him in one Spirit.

The meal, or the partaking of the bread and wine of the Lord, is a sign of the community of his body, in that each and every member thereby declareth himself to be of the one mind, heart and Spirit of Christ. It is an act of remembrance, at which those who have been chosen and accepted by God become aware again of the grace which they have received. While they partake of the bread and the wine, as Christ has taught them, they remember that they are members of his body. Only a true member of Christ may participate in the Lord's Supper; the unworthy one, in whom is something else but Christ, "eateth and drinketh damnation to himself" (I Cor. 11:29).

The unity of the Fellowship of the Lord's Table (*Abendmahlsgemeinde*) must exist according to Riedemann already prior to the celebrating of the Lord's Supper, for he who was not previously included into the pure body of Christ does not enter into it through the ceremony proper. There is only one way into this fellowship, namely through the Holy Spirit.

While the spiritual body of Christ always remains immaculate and pure, it is possible that in the empirical church something impure might develop or enter into. This impure element comes from a member of the church who is no longer a true member of the body of Christ, or probably has never been one, though he yet belongs externally to the congregation. The church has the duty to rid herself of the impure or "rotten" members who spoil, if only externally, its purity. And this the church does by the ban.

The chapters "Concerning Exclusion" (p. 131; the German original says *Vom Bann*) and "Concerning Readmission" (p. 133) distinguish themselves through clarity and depth of thought. Their Scriptural basis is the fifth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians which insists that the pure church eliminate what is of evil. In the church, Riedemann explains, one observeth and watcheth over the other, in order to protect and keep the members from all wrong and from such evil that deserveth exclusion (*Ausschlies-*

sung). To this end telling each his faults, warning and rebuking him, is used with diligence. When this is not accepted but rather disregarded, the matter is brought before the church. If the guilty one does not heed the church, he is excluded and put out. A distinction is here made between "him who sinneth willfully, and him who sinneth in the haste of the flesh." The latter will not be punished by exclusion but remains in the peace of the church.

The one who has been banned is no longer in the fellowship of the church. Yet he is called to repentance, that perchance he may be moved thereby and return more quickly to God. He is shunned and is not accepted back until he has received from the church the good report of a truly repentant life. Not until one senseth that the Lord has again drawn nigh unto him, been gracious to and accepted him, will the church offer to him the hand of fellowship, that he be counted once more a member of the church. As one is received into the church by means of a sign, namely baptism, so also the repentant one is received anew by a sign, namely the laying on of hands, as an indication that he once more has part and is rooted in the grace of God. All suspicion and complaint are swept away, and he is accepted again in love.

In the chapter "Concerning Separation" (p. 91f), we find ideas similar to those discussed above in the chapter "Concerning the Church." Riedemann contrasts the pure church of the children of God with the impure assembly of sinners; the latter is carnal, the former spiritual. Alluding to Galatians 4, he sees in the one but *servants,* and in the other only *sons*. Those who yield themselves to sin, separate themselves from the true church of Christ. We by no means admit, says Riedemann, that we have separated ourselves from such a church of Christ, on the contrary we have drawn near to her . . . so that He who worketh in her (namely the Holy Spirit) might also work in us. Thus we say and confess that not we but all baptizers of children have forsaken the church and the community of Christ, and have separated themselves from the same. The church of Christ is the house of the Holy Spirit, and none is therein unless he hath the same. The children of God have not separated themselves from the world, but God hath done so, and hath given to them baptism as the sign of the covenant. From this true church people had fallen away. When the new light of grace appeared again, the children of God turned toward the Lord and the church of Christ, and left the spotted and impure assembly. (p. 93).

(*To be concluded*)

ATTENDANCE IN MENNONITE SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1949-1950

SILAS HERTZLER

The number of Mennonite colleges and secondary schools included in this report for the school year 1949-50 has increased only because the training schools for nurses were added to the list of previous years. The Mennonite nursing schools are the Bethel Deaconess Hospital, Newton, Kansas; the Mennonite Hospital School of Nursing, Bloomington, Illinois; and the La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing, La Junta, Colorado. Otherwise the list of schools is exactly as for the year 1948-49, except that the Sharon Mennonite Collegiate Institute of Yarrow, British Columbia, has been closed, and therefore sent no report. In spite of the addition of the three nursing schools, the total attendance reported is 25 less than for the previous year. The names and complete adresses of the 38 reporting schools are:

Mennonite Biblical Seminary, 4614 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago 15, Illinois
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Grace Bible Institute, 1515 S. Tenth St., Omaha 8, Nebraska
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
Eastern Mennonite College. Harrisonburg, Virginia
Pacific Bible Insititute, 2149 Tuolumne, Fresno, California
Hesston College and Bible School, Hesston, Kansas
Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 77 Kelvin St., Winnipeg, Manitoba
Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana
Bethel Deaconess Hospital, Newton, Kansas
Mennonite Hospital School of Nursing, Bloomington, Illinois
Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 515 Wellington Crescent, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Rosthern Junior College, Rosthern, Saskatchewan
La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing, La Junta, Colorado
Freeman Junior College and Academy, Freeman, South Dakota
Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Gretna, Manitoba
Mountain View Bible College, Didsbury, Alberta
Alberta Mennonite High School, Coaldale, Alberta
Emmanuel Bible College, 20 Ahrens St., E., Kitchener, Ontario
Mennonite Educational Institute, Abbotsford, British Columbia
Lancaster Mennonite School, R. 4, Lancaster, Pennsylvania
Immanuel Bible School and Academy, Box 128, Reedley, California
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute, 173 Talbot Ave., Winnipeg, Manitoba

Corn Bible School and Academy, Corn, Oklahoma
United Mennonite Educational Institute, Leamington, Ontario
Eden Bible and High School, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario
Iowa Mennonite School, Kalona, Iowa
Rockway Mennonite School, Route 3. Kitchener, Ontario
Oklahoma Bible Academy, Meno, Oklahoma
Berean Academy, Elbing, Kansas
Western Mennonite School, R. 1, Box 626, Salem, Oregon
Steinbach Bible Academy, Steinbach, Manitoba
Meade Bible Academy, Meade, Kansas
Johnstown Mennonite School, R. 2, Hollsopple, Pennsylvania
Lustre Bible Academy, Lustre, Montana
Bethel Springs School, Culp, Arkansas

Table I is a complete summary for all schools reporting. Tables II and III list attendance by classes. Twenty-one schools had students on the college level, with attendance ranging from 17 to 961. The total college attendance of 3747 is 73 more than for the previous year. The non-college attendance of 3099 is 98 below that of the year 1948-49. Thirty-two schools had at least a few students below college level.

Tables IV and V give details for denominational attendance. There were 25 Mennonite groups represented with a total attendance of 5706 Mennonite students. This is a loss of 108 Mennonite students over the previous year. There was an increase of 83 in non-Mennonite attendance, representing 67 religious bodies.

Details are given in Tables VI and VII for Mennonites and non-Mennonites by states, provinces, and countries. The Mennonite homes from which students come are located in 32 states and territories, in 5 provinces of Canada, and in 10 foreign countries. Non-Mennonite students were at home in 35 states and territories, in 4 Canadian provinces, and in 11 foreign countries.

Tables VIII and IX give the classified statistics for Mennonite students indicating college level and high school level attendance. For the first time in recent years there were more college than high school Mennonite students. During the summer of 1949 seven Mennonite colleges conducted summer sessions with an attendance of 583. This was 33 less students than for the summer of 1948. Table X gives further exact details for each school with a summer session.

In Mennonite secondary schools and colleges, women exceed men in numbers. The data is inexact since two schools did not give details concerning the sexes. The number of women more greatly exceeds the number of men because of the reports from the three

Mennonite schools of nursing which train women only. Table XI gives this information. Table XII summarizes certain significant items covering all of the 22 years since these reports have been prepared. In non-Mennonite attendance, in number of graduate students, and in total college attendance, a slight increase is indicated. Table XIII shows the corresponding increase in diplomas and degrees, as would be expected with larger enrollments. The B.A. degree is the one earned by most students. The grand total for 1949-50 far exceeds any previous year.

TABLE II

Enrollment by Classes, College Students, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges

1949-50

College	Graduate Students	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Summer	Other Depts.	Spring	Total
M.B.S.	27[7]	2	2							31
Goshen	23[3]	140	109	147	203	187[5]	91	27[8]	34	961
Bethel, Kans.		103	90	89	133		84	50[1]	9	558
Grace		69	76	63	109					317
Tabor	7[2]	47	42	71	91	16	29			303[6]
Bluffton		72	58	57	70	14	31			302
E.M.C.	3	34	42	65	80	20	15	9[1]		268
Pacific	2	27	23	50	65	11				178
Hesston		2	7	32	53	8		13[1]	34	149
M.B.B.C.		41		31[4]	35[9]	39				146
Bethel, Ind.	3	22	25	28	24	22				124
Bethel Hosp.		15	22	11	14					62
Bloomington		17	21		22					60
Canadian Menn.			9	14	35	1				59
Rosthern					51					51
La Junta		16	13		18					47
Freeman				12	29	3				44
M.C.I.					30					30
Mount. View	4	6	1	1	9					21
Emmanuel			3	6	10					19
M.E.I.					17					17
Total	69	613	543	677	1098	321	250	99	77	3747

[1] Extension and evening students.
[2] 3 graduate Bible students; 4 liberal arts postgraduates.
[3] 8 B.D. students; 9 Th.B. students beyond the B.A. level; 6 liberal arts graduate students.
[4] Called middlers.
[5] Mostly part-time public school teachers.
[6] Of this number, 14 are counted as Bible students of college grade.
[7] 26 graduate Bible students; 1 postgraduate.
[8] 10 extension students; 17 correspondence students.
[9] Beginners, but called juniors.

TABLE I

Total Enrollment in Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges 1949-50

School	Graduate Students	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.	Total Enrollment
Mennonite Biblical Seminary	27	4				31
Goshen College	23	938[8]		35[1]	7[3]	1003
Eastern Mennonite College	3	265	192	168[1]	66[2]	694
Bethel College, Kansas		558			75[5]	633[7]
Hesston College and Bible School		149	170	34[6]	29[2]	382
Bluffton College		302			41[6]	343
Grace Bible Institute		317				317
Tabor College	7	296	8			311
Lancaster Mennonite School			261	3		264
Mennonite Educational Institute		17	229			246
Immanuel Bible School and Academy			195			195
Pacific Bible Institute	2	176				178
Mennonite Brethren Bible College		146	29[4]			175
Freeman Junior College and Academy		44	105			149
Rosthern Junior College		51	97			148
Bethel College, Indiana	3	121	23			147
Mennonite Collegiate Institute		30	109			139
Emmanuel Bible College		19	17	75[4]		111
Eden Bible and High School			86	24		110
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute			110			110
Mountain View Bible College	4	17	26	34	26[5]	107
Corn Bible School and Academy			90			90
United Mennonite Educational Institute			89			89
Iowa Mennonite School			85			85
Rockway Mennonite School			80			80
Oklahoma Bible Academy			76			76
Canadian Mennonite Bible College		59		16		75
Berean Academy			71			71
Western Mennonite School			57	11[1]		68
Bethel Deaconess Hospital		62				62
Menn. Hospital School of Nurs. Bloomington		60				60
Alberta Mennonite High School			59			59
Meade Bible Academy			51			51
Steinbach Bible Academy			49			49
Johnstown Mennonite School			48			48
La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing		47				47
Lustre Bible Academy			33			33
Bethel Springs School			10			10
Total	69	3678	2455	400	244	6846

[1] Bible students for six-week term.
[2] Correspondence students.
[3] Correspondence students not of college grade.
[4] Evening classes.
[5] Music and art students not of college grade (excluding duplicates).
[6] 2 Christian Worker students; 32 6-week Bible students.
[7] 1950-51 Bethel College Bulletin, p. 121.
[8] Seventeen correspondence students included.

TABLE III

Enrollment by Classes, Students not of College Grade, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges

1949-50

School	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Bible	Other Depts.	Total
E.M.C.	60	62	26	24	20	168[1]	66[2]	426
Lancaster	60	50	75	76		3		264
Hesston	67	43	30	25	5	34[8]	29[4]	233
M.E.I.		70	111	48				229
Immanuel	41	50	54	50				195
Eden			55	31		24[5]		110
M.B.C.I.	30	27	27	25	1			110
M.C.I.		41	46	22				109
Freeman	34	21	23	24	3			105
Rosthern		52	31	14				97
Emmanuel		1	7	9	75[7]			92
Corn Bible School	25	28	18	19				90
U.M.E.I.	17	13	26	25	8[7]			89
Mountain View	11	2	6	7		34	26[6]	86
Iowa	13	17	18	36	1			85
Rockway	14	17	22	27				80
Oklahoma	18	19	20	19				76
Bethel, Kansas							75[6]	75
Berean	19	20	13	18	1			71
Western	8	10	14	16	9[9]	11		68
Alberta	19	15	17	8				59
Meade	8	15	8	20				51
Steinbach		3	8	15	3	20[7]		49
Johnstown	12	14	14	8				48
Goshen						35[1]	7	42
Bluffton							41[6]	41
Lustre	7	14	7	5				33
M.B.B.C.						29[7]		29
Bethel, Indiana		2	6	15				23
Canadian Mennonite					16			16
Bethel Springs	1	2	2	3	2			10
Tabor					7		1[3]	8
Totals	464	608	684	589	151	358	245	3099

[1] Six weeks' Bible term.
[2] Bible correspondence students.
[3] Summer student.
[4] Correspondence students.
[5] 21 undergraduates in Bible School; 4 Bible students.
[6] Fine arts students.
[7] Evening students.
[8] 2 Christian Worker students; 32 Bible students for six weeks.
[9] 8 fifth-year high school students; 1 part time.

TABLE IV

Mennonite Students in Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges

1949-50

	Goshen	E.M.C.	Bethel, Kans.	Hesston	Tabor	Lancaster	M.E.I.	Grace	Immanuel	Bluffton	M.B.B.C.	Rosthern	Freeman	M.C.I.	Bethel, Ind.	Pacific	Eden	M.B.C.I.	MountainView	U.M.E.I.	Corn	Iowa	Emmanuel	Canadian	Rockway	Oklahoma	Western	Alberta	Berean	Bethel Hosp.	Meade	Johnstown	La Junta	Steinbach	Lustre	M.B.S.	Bloomington	Bethel Springs	Total
(Old) Mennonite	614	618	12	237	1	251	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	72	4	—	66	—	59	—	56	6	—	48	46	—	—	—	3	3	2099
G. C. Menn.	40	—	397	33	14	—	40	165	7	152	8	136	107	79	—	1	—	7	—	—	—	—	2	63	—	69	—	—	—	39	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1400
Menn. Brethren	3	—	3	1	219	—	200	11	162	—	129	5	13	8	—	104	76	102	—	4	84	—	5	—	—	1	—	56	—	6	1	—	—	17	1	—	—	—	1211
United Miss. (M.B.C.)	11	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	115	—	—	—	83	—	—	—	61	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	276
Evan. Menn. Breth.	12	—	2	—	8	—	—	42	—	—	4	1	5	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	48	—	—	2	12	—	—	—	141
United Menn.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	—	—	85	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	98
Mennonite Unclass.	—	—	—	70*	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	97
Krim. Menn. Breth.	4	—	2	6	33	—	—	10	19	—	—	—	7	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	88
Conser. Amish Menn.	—	47	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	68
Bergtaler Menn.	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	29	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36	—	—	—	—	58
Kleine Gemeinde	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	39
European Menn.	12	3	5	2	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	29
Amish Menn.	—	7	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	11	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	27
Evangelical Menn.	—	—	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12
Ch. of God in Christ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11
Ruderweider	—	3	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9
Weavertown Amish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9
Immanuel Menn. Ch.	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	8
Immanuel Menn. Breth.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Old Order Amish	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
Old Order Menn.	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
Sommerfelder Menn.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Sonnenberg	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Defenseless Menn.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Hutterthal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Wisler Menn.	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Total	706	689	424	354	282	263	246	236	188	163	143	143	137	127	117	114	110	110	89	89	84	83	80	75	73	70	67	59	59	57	49	48	46	46	31	31	13	5	5706

*32 Special Bible term students included here.

TABLE V

Non-Mennonite Students in Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges
1949-50

	No Report	Methodist	Baptist	Evangelical Brethren	Presbyterian	Lutheran	Unaffiliated	Church of the Brethren	Interdenominational	Christian	Roman Catholic	Brethren	Cong. Christian	Nazarene	Episcopalian	Brethren in Christ	Pentecostal	Congregational	Evangelical	Reformed	Christ. Miss. Alliance	Church of God	Church of Christ	Community	Assembly of God	United Brethren	Evangelical Free	United Church of Canada	Apostolic Christian	Disciples of Christ	Evang. Reformed	Pilgrim Holiness	Assoc. Gospel Churches	Evang. and Reformed	Friends (Quaker)	Seventh-Day Adventist	United Presbyterian	Wesleyan Methodist		Total
Goshen	—	76	20	22	17	13	10	35	5	5	8	11	14	6	10	14	1	—	—	—	—	5	3	—	3	—	—	—	4	3	—	—	—	3	—	1	—	—	8*	297
Bethel, Kansas	128	23	10	1	8	4	—	1	—	2	6	—	—	2	3	—	—	4	10	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4*	209
Bluffton	36	40	16	16	12	11	—	—	—	1	7	3	2	1	3	—	—	5	—	11	2	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	2	3	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	2*	180
Grace	—	5	10	2	12	3	11	—	18	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	2	2	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4*	81
Pacific	—	2	25	—	3	2	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	6	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	6	3	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	3	—	1*	64
Bloomington	—	17	1	—	3	7	2	—	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1*	47
M.B. Bible College	29	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32
Emmanuel	—	—	13	6	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2*	31
Bethel, Indiana	—	3	5	6	3	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	30
Tabor	5	3	6	7	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3*	29
Hesston	—	7	3	4	2	—	8	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2*	28
Mountain View	—	—	—	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1*	18
Berean	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12
Freeman	2	—	1	—	1	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1*	12
M.C.I.	10	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12
Immanuel	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2*	7
Rockway	—	—	5	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
Corn	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
Oklahoma	—	2	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
Bethel Deaconess	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Bethel Springs	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5

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TABLE VI

States, Provinces, and Countries from Which Mennonite Students Come, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1949-50

	Goshen	E.M.C.	Bethel, Kans.	Hesston	Tabor	Lancaster	M.E.I.	Grace	Immanuel	Bluffton	M.B.B.C.	Rosthern	Freeman	M.C.I.	Bethel, Ind.	Pacific	Eden	M.B.C.I.	Mt. View	U.M.E.I.	Corn	Iowa	Emmanuel	Canadian	Rockway	Oklahoma	Western	Alberta	Beream	Bethel Hosp.	Meade	Johnstown	La Junta	Steinbach	Lustre	M.B.S.	Bloomington	Bethel Springs	Total
Pennsylvania	98	336	1	5	—	256	—	10	—	29	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	45	3	—	—	1	1	—	788
Kansas	22	1	300	105	136	—	—	56	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	6	—	57	35	48	—	1	—	—	9	—	—	784
Ontario	21	27	4	—	6	—	—	—	—	3	11	1	—	1	1	—	110	2	—	87	—	—	79	6	72	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	433
Manitoba	7	—	3	—	1	—	—	8	—	1	63	2	—	126	—	—	—	107	—	1	—	—	—	28	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	46	—	—	—	—	339
California	4	1	6	4	26	—	—	6	186	2	—	—	—	—	—	80	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	8	—	—	3	1	—	313
Indiana	193	11	2	22	—	—	—	4	—	19	30	2	—	—	47	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	318
British Columbia	1	—	—	—	6	—	245	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	2	—	302
Ohio	120	34	—	7	—	—	—	9	—	79	—	—	—	—	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	53	—	—	4	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	280
Oklahoma	3	3	29	7	52	—	—	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	76	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	1	2	—	260
Saskatchewan	2	1	5	2	7	—	—	7	—	—	15	113	—	—	—	4	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	188
Virginia	10	174	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	188
Alberta	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	15	25	—	—	1	—	—	—	79	—	—	83	1	4	—	—	—	59	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	187
Iowa	55	10	2	17	—	—	—	6	—	2	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	184
South Dakota	1	—	10	—	13	—	—	12	—	—	—	—	120	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	64	—	—	2	—	3	—	—	1	—	2	166
Oregon	11	5	1	13	2	—	—	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	6	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	119
No Report	—	—	—	97	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	112
Illinois	57	4	1	12	—	—	—	—	—	17	—	—	—	—	39	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	5	—	—	1	8	—	107
Michigan	30	16	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	94
Nebraska	6	—	17	12	4	—	—	21	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	5	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	73
Minnesota	11	—	16	4	12	—	—	30	—	3	—	—	3	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	81
Montana	1	3	2	5	2	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	31	1	—	—	58
Maryland	2	31	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	35
Washington	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	32
Germany	5	4	3	2	4	—	—	1	—	2	4	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	28
New York	9	10	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24
Idaho	3	2	11	3	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	23
Colorado	13	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22
North Dakota	2	—	—	6	3	—	—	6	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	22

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TABLE VII

States, Provinces, and Countries from Which Non-Mennonite Students Come, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1949-50

	Goshen	Bethel, Kans.	Bluffton	Grace	Pacific	Bloomington	M.B.B.C.	Emmanuel	Bethel, Ind.	Tabor	Hesston	Mt. View	Freeman	Berean	M.C.I.	Immanuel	Rockway	Corn	Oklahoma	Bethel Hosp.	Bethel Springs	E.M.C.	Rosthern	Steinbach	Iowa	Lustre	Meade	Lancaster	Western	La Junta	Total
Indiana	247	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	16	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	267
No Report	—	114	—	—	—	—	29	—	1	—	14	—	—	—	10	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	171
Ohio	6	2	156	4	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	169
Kansas	—	76	—	7	2	—	—	—	—	22	8	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	121
California	1	—	—	—	53	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	63
Illinois	6	1	6	—	—	45	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	59
Nebraska	1	1	—	43	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	47
Ontario	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	31	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	38
Pennsylvania	15	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	24
Alberta	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19
Michigan	5	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16
Oklahoma	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	2	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16
Minnesota	1	2	—	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14
South Dakota	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14
Iowa	1	—	—	6	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	10
Puerto Rico	5	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9
Arkansas	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
Manitoba	—	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
Saskatchewan	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
Missouri	—	1	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
Oregon	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	6
New York	1	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Texas	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Colorado	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Montana	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Tennessee	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	3
	7*	5*	3*	1*	1*	—	—	—	—	3*	—	—	—	—	—	—	2*	—	1*	—	—	3*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	26
Total	297	209	180	81	64	47	32	31	30	29	28	18	12	12	12	7	7	6	6	5	5	5	5	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	1140

* Goshen College had one student each from the following: Korea, North Carolina, Ethiopia, Florida, Mexico, Louisiana, Georgia.
* Bethel, Kansas, had one student each from the following: Wisconsin, China, Costa Rica, Nevada, Poland.
* Bluffton had one student each from the following: Maryland, New Jersey, Trinidad.
* Grace had one student from Washington.
* Pacific had one student from Washington.
* Tabor had one student each from the following: Germany, Italy, New Mexico.
* Rockway had two students from Central Africa.
* Oklahoma had one student from Virginia.
* E.M.C. had one student each from the following: Germany, Korea.

TABLE VIII

Mennonite Students of College Grade, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1949-50

School	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Goshen College	349	315	664[2]
Bethel College, Kansas			424[3]
Eastern Mennonite College	120	145	265[4]
Tabor College	148	127	275[5]
Grace Bible Institute	122	114	236
Bluffton College	81	66	147
Mennonite Brethren Bible College	78	65	143
Hesston College and Bible School	58	72	130
Pacific Bible Institute	54	60	114
Bethel College, Indiana	50	52	102
Canadian Mennonite Bible School	34	25	59
Bethel Deaconess Hospital		57	57
Rosthern Junior College	26	25	51
La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing		46	46
Freeman Junior College	20	17	37
Mennonite Biblical Seminary	25	6	31[1]
Mennonite Collegiate Institute			30[3]
Mountain View Bible College	11	9	20
Emmanuel Bible College	6	11	17
Mennonite Educational Institute			17[3]
Menn. Hospital Sch. of Nurs., Bloomington		13	13
Total	1182	1225	2878[6]
			2407[7]

[1] 27 graduate students; 4 on college level.

[2] 8 graduate students are included.

[3] Details not given.

[4] 3 graduate students are included.

[5] 5 graduate students are included.

[6] Vertical total.

[7] Horizontal total.

TABLE IX

Mennonite Students Not of College Grade, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1949-50

School	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Eastern Mennonite College	184	240	424
Lancaster Mennonite School	102	161	263
Mennonite Educational Institute			229[1]
Hesston College and Bible School	89	135	224
Immanuel Bible School and Academy	95	93	188
Eden Bible and High School	49	61	110
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute	53	57	110
Freeman Junior College	49	51	100
Mennonite Collegiate Institute			97[1]
Rosthern Junior College	48	44	92
United Mennonite Educational Institute	41	48	89
Corn Bible School and Academy	42	42	84
Iowa Mennonite School	37	46	83
Rockway Mennonite School	30	43	73
Oklahoma Bible Academy			70[1]
Mountain View Bible College	34	35	69
Western Mennonite School	32	35	67
Emmanuel Bible College	23	40	63
Berean Academy	28	31	59
Alberta Mennonite High School	41	18	59
Meade Bible Academy	25	24	49
Johnstown Mennonite School	20	28	48
Steinbach Bible Academy	22	24	46
Goshen College	33	9	42
Lustre Bible Academy	11	20	31
Bluffton College	2	14	16
Canadian Mennonite Bible College	13	3	16
Bethel College, Indiana	11	4	15
Tabor College	1	6	7
Bethel Springs School	2	3	5
Total	1117	1315	2828[2] 2432[3]

[1] Details not given.
[2] Vertical total.
[3] Horizontal total.

TABLE X

Students in Summer Session, 1949, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges

School	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Goshen College	84	162	246[1]
Bethel College, Kansas	44	73	117
Bluffton College	48	26	74
Tabor College	23	33	56
E.M.C.	13	22	35
Hesston College and Bible School	11	24	35[2]
Bethel College, Indiana	11	9	20
Total	234	349	583[3]

[1] 55 spring term students; 171 summer students.
[2] Spring term only.
[3] Duplicates with the regular school year are included.

TABLE XI

Total Attendance, Men and Women, Secondary Schools and Colleges
1949-50

School	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Goshen College	510	493	1003
E.M.C.	309	385	694
Bethel College, Kansas	339	294	633
Hesston College and Bible School	156	226	382
Bluffton College	176	167	343
Grace Bible Institute	162	155	317
Tabor College	161	150	311
Lancaster Mennonite School	102	162	264
Mennonite Educational Institute			246[1]
Immanuel Bible School and Academy	97	98	195
Pacific Bible Institute	93	85	178
Mennonite Brethren Bible College	85	90	175
Freeman Junior College	75	74	149
Rosthern Junior College	76	72	148
Bethel College, Indiana	78	69	147
Mennonite Collegiate Institute	77	62	139
Emmanuel Bible College	40	71	111
Eden Bible and High School	49	61	110
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute	53	57	110
Mountain View Bible College	58	49	107
Corn Bible School	42	48	90
United Mennonite Educational Institute	41	48	89
Iowa Mennonite School	39	46	85
Rockway Mennonite School	33	47	80
Oklahoma Bible Academy			76[1]
Canadian Mennonite Bible College	47	28	75
Western Mennonite School	32	36	68
Bethel Deaconess Hospital		62	62
Mennonite Hospital School of Nursing		60	60
Alberta Mennonite High School	41	18	59
Meade Bible Academy	26	25	51
Steinbach Bible Academy	23	26	49
Johnstown Mennonite School	20	28	48
Berean Academy	32	39	71
La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing		47	47
Lustre Bible Academy	12	21	33
Mennonite Biblical Seminary	25	6	31
Bethel Springs School	4	6	10
Total	3113	3411	6846[2] 6524[3]

[1] Details not given.
[2] Vertical total.
[3] Horizontal total.

TABLE XIII

Diplomas Given and Degrees Granted, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1950

Degree	M.B.S.	Goshen	Bethel, K.	Bluffton	Tabor	E.M.C.	Grace	Bethel, Ind.	Pacific	Bethel Hosp.	Bloomington	La Junta	M.B.B.C.	Hesston	Freeman	Lancaster	Immanuel	M.C.I.	Corn	Iowa	Rockway	Johnstown	Mt. View	Berean	Steinbach	Lustre	Emmanuel	Total
B.D.	9	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
Th.B.	..	8	..	..	3	1	10	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
B.A.	..	111	43	24	24	20	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	227
B.S. in Education	..	38	2	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45
B.S.	..	..	..	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
B.R.E.	..	..	..	..	..	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
B.S. in Home Economics	..	..	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
B.S. in Nursing	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
B.A. in Christian Education	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
B.A. in Missionary Anthropology	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
B.S. in Business	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
B. of School Music	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Bachelor of Music Education	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
B.A. in Bible	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B.S. in Biology	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B.S. in Industrial Arts	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B.S. in Physical Education	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Three-year Diploma in Bible	..	..	..	..	..	..	47	..	9	..	..	..	31	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	3	100
R.N.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	17	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47
Missionary Medical Diploma	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Associate in Arts	..	16	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	29	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	66
Junior College Bible	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8

Two-year Normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Associate in Arts in Bible	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Two-year Diploma in Bible	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
Graduate in Theology	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
One-year Secretarial	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
One-year Normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Academy or High School	..	..	..	..	16	81	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	50	31	59	41	30	24	23	16	12	..	11	7	7	..	408
Bible Academy (four years)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	33	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	34
Bible Academy (three years)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	3
Bible Academy (two years)	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	9
Winter Bible School	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Christian Workers Diploma	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Totals	9	204	56	51	57	122	61	7	30	17	17	13	31	79	62	60	74	30	24	23	16	12	12	11	10	7	7	1102

TABLE XII

Comparative Enrollment Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges 1928-50

Year	Number of schools	Mennonite	Non-Mennonite	Graduate Students	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.	Total Below College Grade	Total
1928-29		1025	513		847	569		122	691	1538
1929-30		1259	708		1085	609		173	882	1967
1930-31		1515	655		1234	710	110	126	946	2180
1931-32		1337	591		944	522	259	203	984	1928
1932-33		1135	538		906	416	277	74	767	1673
1933-34		1259	476		921	348	402	64	814	1735
1934-35		1742	530		1025	550	502	195	1247	2272
1935-36		2274	574		1151	1050	470	177	1697	2848
1936-37		2640	496		1242	948	800	146	1894	3136
1937-38		2258	680		1431	821	542	144	1507	2938
1938-39		2221	586		1447	690	530	140	1360	2807
1939-40		2164	628		1560	808	308	116	1236	2792
1940-41		2101	608		1581	688	343	97	1128	2709
1941-42	14	2218	600	9	1485	806	334	184	1324	2818
1942-43	15	2536	424	10	1331	1063	383	173	1619	2960
1943-44	15	2408	512	17	1267	1144	220	272	1636	2920
1944-45	15	2615	579	15	1219	1250	353	357	1960	3194
1945-46	20	3265	482	27	1689	1523	215	293	2031	3747
1946-47	22	4333	685	47	2760	1658	215	338	2211	5018
1947-48	27	5291	870	49	3248	2285	274	305	2864	6161
1948-49	36	5814	1057	61	3613	2677	235	285	3197	6871
1949-50	38	5706	1140	69	3678	2455	400	244	3099	6846

MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW CUMULATIVE INDEX

Volumes 1-25 (1927-1951)

NELSON P. SPRINGER

The cumulative index includes authors of articles, subjects treated as a unit within an article or given such prominence that they merit entry in the index, books reviewed, and the reviewers. It does not attempt to include all persons, places, and minor subjects mentioned in the articles. Since the Mennonite Historical Society sponsored three supplements to the *Goshen College Record* during the year preceding the first issue of the MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW, and since the articles in these supplements are similar in quality and content to the articles in the MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW, they are also indexed.

Authors are listed by last name. The date of the article is followed by the volume and issue, as well as the date of issue, in which it appears. Subject entries include the same information plus the name of the author. All entries are listed in one alphabet. Book reviews are listed under "Books Reviewed." The author of the book, title, and the issue in which the review appears are stated. The authors of the reviews are not indicated, but citation to reviews by a given author will be found as the last entry under the author's name in the index. Abbreviations used: Ja—January, Ap—April, My—May, Je—June, Jl—July, S—September, O—October, D—December, and GCR—Goshen College Record supplement.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Quakers and Slavery in America. By Thomas E. Drake. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950. Pp. x, 245. $3.75.

This story of "the Quakers' role in abolition from George Fox to John Greenleaf Whittier" begins with the troubling of the Quaker conscience in the seventeenth century, and ends with Appomatox in 1865. The early Quakers owned slaves. The spirit of brotherhood within the Society even produced the curious case of a Quaker meeting helping a financially hard-pressed Friend to pay for his slave. The Quaker idea of the equality of men in the eyes of God, however, was bound to have its effect. When Fox admonished his followers that they must "have the mind of Christ," that they must be merciful, and that God has made all nations of one blood, a few were early convinced of the need for emancipation. William Edmundson, an Irish Quaker, was one of the first to come to this view. The well-known Germantown antislavery remonstrance of 1688 was sidetracked by the Philadelphia yearly meeting as a matter too "weighty" to determine. Ten years later, however, the same meeting requested the co-operation of Barbados Friends in suppressing the shipment of Negroes to Pennsylvania. In 1711 the Pennsylvania Quaker legislature even forbade the importation of slaves, although the law was disallowed in London.

More than a hundred years of troubled conscience and strenuous effort were required, however, to eradicate the ownership of slaves among the Quakers themselves. Those demanding immediate emancipation were voices in the wilderness; and when they became too outspoken they were disowned by the Society, as in the case of John Farmer and others in the early eighteenth century. At the middle of the century, however, the cleansing of the Society from the stain of slavery got under way in earnest under the leadership of John Woolman, who neither by argument nor by angry denunciation, but by kindly persuasion and with tears of sorrow, convinced his fellows, both in the North and the South, that to be clear before God they must free their slaves. "How . . . can we, who have been concerned to publish the Gospel of universal love and peace among mankind, be so inconsistent with ourselves as to purchase such who are prisoners of war, and thereby encourage this anti-Christian practice?", asked the 1754 *Epistle* of the Philadelphia yearly meeting, which was written by Woolman. By the close of the century, as a result of these persistent efforts, it was possible for the American Quakers to say, "we hold no man in slavery!" Thus at considerable cost to themselves, the Quakers had done what neither Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, nor any other antislavery Revolutionary leader was willing to do.

Having cleansed their own house, the Quakers extended their antislavery testimony beyond the confines of the Society. The United States Constitution made it possible to prohibit the importation of slaves after twenty years, which Congress promptly did in 1808. Some Quakers joined in the promotion of the various African colonization schemes then in vogue. Elias Hicks preached against the use of the products of slave labor. Benjamin Lundy helped open a free produce store in Baltimore in 1826. This does not, however, suggest anything of "radical" abolitionism. Not until 1796 did the Philadelphia yearly meeting itself so much as open its meeting to Negro membership; and in general Quakers did not go much farther

than others in the direction of intimate social contact with members of the black race.

With the coming of militant abolitionism, symbolized by the founding of Garrison's *Liberator* in 1831, however, the Quakers found it necessary to decide whether to continue their earlier moderate methods of protest against slavery, or to enter the desperate struggle in which North and South were ultimately to be joined in mortal combat. A few Quakers, such as Arnold Buffum, E. L. Capron, and John G. Whittier, rallied to the support of Garrison. The official meetings were more conservative, however, and in 1842 the Baltimore yearly meeting (Hicksite) advised against "involving ourselves with the associations that have sprung up around us for the avowed purpose of promoting the abolition of slavery in our country by *political* or other means of a *coercive nature,* devised in the wisdom and contrivance of man."

When the abolitionist minority was infuriated at this position, the Philadelphia yearly meeting (Orthodox) countered by publishing a history of the Quaker testimony, showing how the Society was cleared of slavery by following the moderate way. After Pennsylvania Hall, a building housing the offices of the Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society, and providing a lecture room for abolitionists and other reformers, was burned by a mob in 1838, the moderate majority tightened its opposition to radicalism. Quaker meetinghouses generally were closed to radical abolitionists, and a few Friends who disagreed too strongly with this policy were disowned, although John G. Whittier managed to wiggle through. In 1842 the issue of giving place to abolitionist speakers caused 2,000 or more Friends to secede from the Indiana yearly meeting and form a meeting of their own. All yearly meetings in America and England refused to recognize the new meeting, however, the Quaker majority, both Orthodox and Hicksite, having decided that Friends must follow the moderate way in opposing slavery; and no further schism occurred. Concerning the Underground Railroad there was also difference of opinion among the Quakers. A radical few like Levi Coffin of Indiana were deep in the movement; a small group at the other extreme would have nothing to do with it; while the great majority were sympathetic with runaway slaves and helped them when they came to them for aid.

Mr. Drake has done a good job; bibliography and footnotes testify to a thorough treatment of the material; and the issues at stake are clearly defined and pointed up. To the student of Mennonite history perhaps the most important of these issues is that which compelled the Quakers in the later period to discover the point at which the pursuit of justice in behalf of the oppressed Negro involved the use of means which could not be justified, no matter how noble the end. The story of John Woolman and the purging of the Society from the blight of slavery is a glorious story of a noble end achieved, by even nobler means, perhaps. The story of the great crusade which began with Garrison in 1831, and which ended at Appomatox in 1865, a crusade in which a considerable number of Quakers forsook the path which Woolman trod, is another story. Very fittingly, Drake closes this story with a quotation from G. M. Trevelyan: "Close your ears to John Woolman one century, and you will get John Brown the next, with Grant to follow." Then he adds: "For the Friends, who had failed to persuade men to put their trust in the sword of the Spirit, the fruits of victory were bitter as well as sweet."

This reviewer has often wondered whether Whittier's beautiful hymn, "Dear Lord and Father of mankind, forgive our foolish ways," written in

1872, does not represent a conscious desire on the author's part to be "reclothed in his rightful mind," a mind of which he had been temporarily deprived by a madness which in 1843 had enabled him to write *Massachusetts to Virginia,* and in 1865 *Laus Deo!,* a song of military victory in the spirit of Miriam's song of victory over the forces of Pharaoh at the Red Sea.

Goshen College Guy F. Hershberger

Le Vrai Visage de Jeanne d' Arc, Héroine de non-violence. By Louise Corman. Paris: Stock, 1951. Pp. 134.

It is not surprising that intellectual circles in postwar Europe should be interested in the possibilities of nonviolence as a new solution to problems of human relations. Dr. Corman, already author of one book on the subject, is one of those who feel that the modern world has much to learn from Gandhi and from "the idea of nonviolence, re-expression of the idea of love and brotherhood which across centuries have maintained in the heart of man . . . the hope of a world where peace and justice will reign." He here undertakes to demonstrate that Joan of Arc, famed in history and legend as a leader of armies, was actually a heroine of nonviolence.

The question is basically a historical one; the contention of Dr. Corman should stand or fall on the basis of objective documents. Most of the book is therefore concerned with establishing, in the face of all that has been written about Joan as a soldier until now, that her life and death are an exemplary manifestation of that ideal of nonviolence, love, and fraternity which again in our day is so sorely lacking in the world.

Within the scope of Corman's presuppositions. his demonstration may be called successful. He does show that Joan attached more importance to the spiritual unity of France under her legitimate sovereign than to military victories; that she preferred peace to war, would rather have seen the English leave France voluntarily than to have to drive them out; that she never killed a man herself and wept to see enemy soldiers die; that the prime motive of her life was unconditioned obedience to God, as her "Voices" revealed His will. And that is, after all, what Corman set out to prove.

It is however permissible to underline the basic inadequacy of this demonstration, inadequacy inherent in the claims of nonviolence to be the "idea" the world needs. For "war without violence" is as fundamentally undefinably, unobjective, as war without poison gas or war without atomic bombs. The significant questions of standards and goals in the struggle remain untouched. There is in Gandhiism no objective norm by which nonviolence can be defined, and which could then be applied to Joan. Nonviolence is much more a sentimental quantity, an undefinable attitude, one of the half-true slogans by which modern man tries to get the good out of God without obeying Him. It is consistent with leading an army, as in Joan's case, or with civil disobedience, as in Gandhi's. (That both Joan and Gandhi fought the British with their nonviolence is a historical accident; that both were more patriotic than a Christian "stranger and pilgrim" should be is more significant.) It is also consistent with heroic self-sacrifice, and it would be false to deny the personal greatness of Corman's examples.

It is gratifying to see history rewritten by someone with an eye for spiritual motives and values, and with the perspective needed to deglamorize the bloodshed which fills the records of the past. But with all respect

for the true grandeur of this "heroine of nonviolence," (whose stature Corman does not magnify by his speculative psychology which tries to make of her hallucinations a sign of mental health), the Biblical Christian must still ask whether God's highest will for France in 1429-30 was really the attainment of political freedom from England, freedom which left unchanged abuses in church, state, and society, freedom which gave the Gospel no more room in the lives of men. Or, more to the point, is this nonviolence, this "new idea," the power which can wage war or disorder with a spirit of pacific love, whose ethical norms are flexible to suit one's patriotism, is it *this* sort of heroism that is the deepest need of a world where there is no peace? In all homage to Joan, a truly heroic figure, this reviewer is not convinced.

Valdoie (Ter. de Belfort), France John Howard Yoder

Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter. Neue Folge, Nr. 3, Jahrgang 8 (May 1951), 71 pp.

The newest number of this valuable periodical (See MQR April 1951 for review of preceding issues) again contains several outstanding articles. Walter Risler, "Mennoniten in Duisburg," pp. 2-18, on the basis of careful archival studies, presents a complete list of all identifiable members of the Mennonite Church living in this area in the 17th and 18th centuries, with commentary on the genealogical, religious, economic, and civic aspect of family and church. This is an important original research article. (The *Menn.—Lexicon* has no article on Duisburg.) Walter Fellmann gives a careful interpretation of Gottfried Arnold in "250 Jahre Gottfried Arnold," pp. 18-25. Fritz Blanke's "Täufertum und Alkoholismus," pp. 25-27, is a reprint of a portion of his enlightening longer article "Reformation und Alkoholismus" which appeared in *Zwingliana* (1949, Heft 2). Two extensive articles report on Anabaptist-Mennonite themes in recent European and American literature. Walter Fellmann's "Drei Schweizer Schriftsteller über das Täufertum" reviews two books, Johannes Nink—*Arzt und Reformator Vadian* (1936) and Edmond Diebold—*Folge dem Licht* (1945), and summarizes Emanuel Stickelberger's treatment of the Anabaptists in his *Zwingli* (1931) and *Deutschschweizerische Reformatoren* (1932). Elizabeth Bender's "Die Mennoniten in der Neuesten Amerikanischen Literatur," pp. 38-45, reviews a series of nine novels and stories published in U.S.A. 1924-1949, which is substantially everything on this theme published since World War I. From the papers of Christian Neff an article "Zwei Predigerverzeichnisse" presents two significant lists of European Mennonite preachers of 1759 and 1802, with an attached reprint of Mannhardt's 1857 list of Mennonite churches and ministers. All three lists are by congregations, Holland omitted. Eberhard Teufel's "Neue Geschichtsliteratur," pp. 58-70, reviews all periodical articles and books bearing on Anabaptist-Mennonite History 1940-49. It is a most valuable bibliographical compilation, fairly exhaustive with occasional annotations. "Die Niederländischen Hintergründe der Mennonitschen Ostwanderungen im 16., 18., und 19. Jahrhundert" by B. H. Unruh, pp. 34-38, is a brief extract from a longer monograph awaiting publication.

Goshen College Harold S. Bender

Mennonite Life, January 1952, Vol. VII, No. 1. North Newton, Kansas: Bethel College. Pp. 48. $.50.

Two features in the latest issue of *Mennonite Life* deserve special mention. The first consists of two articles on Rembrandt: these are "Rembrandt, the Bible and the Mennonites," by editor Cornelius Krahn, and "Rembrandt and the Mennonites," by H. M. Rotermund, Evangelical pastor in Germany. The three Rembrandt works of art reproduced with the articles are the painting of the Mennonite minister and wife, an etching of Anslo, and the painting of a Mennonite woman, Catharine Hochsaet.

The second and major feature of the issue is a series of articles and pictures on the Old Colony Mennonite settlement in Mexico. The chief article is illustrated with thirty-six excellent photographs, several of which are full page size. Under the title "Strangers and Pilgrims on Earth," the text accompanying the pictures is given in both English and German. A second article, by Charles Burkhart, discusses "Music of the Old Colony Mennonites."

Mennonite Research Foundation Melvin Gingerich

God of the Hills. By L. J. Lantz. Scottdale, Pa. Herald Press, 1951. Pp. 95. $1.50.

Truth is sometimes put in forms that are ugly, or at least unattractive. For some of us are suspicious of beauty. We think the poet, who tries to express his thoughts in forms of euphony and symmetry, is insincere and sentimental, or perhaps merely showing off.

Let us admit that beauty is sometimes made an end in itself. It may be difficult to find the grain of truth in the abundant verbal chaff in some poems. And sometimes error hides away in a jungle of verbiage.

But we need not choose between the truth that is bare of beauty, and beauty that is bare of truth. We have, if we will, truth expressed in language which is pleasing. The poet may be a minister of the divine sanctuary as he takes our emotions along with our minds into our worship and into our thinking and appreciations.

In this volume the reader will find poems on many themes. They are the thoughts and feelings of a simple-hearted and devout young man. There is in them the beauty of the Pennsylvania countryside and the homely tang of the down-East farm. There is also the genuine sincerity of a nonconformist, whose Christian life is more than meat.

Many of these poems have been published previously in different periodicals of the Herald Press. With some hitherto unpublished, they make up this first volume of a promising poet.

Scottdale, Pennsylvania Paul Erb